

VIKRAMA VOLUME



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MESSAGE.

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The great King Vikramaditya of revered memory has, in Indian history and legend, been the emblem of valour, chivalry, patriotism, love of learning and culture. Around his heroic personality have been woven tales of great deeds nobly done, fabulous gifts so generously bestowed, and the cultivation of ancient Arts and Sciences so liberally patronised. King Vikram also figures as the great patriot who freed the motherland from the tyranny and bondage of the blood-thirsty foreigner—the Shakas. Through him came not only freedom from oppression and slavery but he also heralded the renaissance of Indian Art, Literature, and Science and won a high place for this ancient land in the comity of Nations.

A grateful country has enshrined the memory of this great personage by naming an era after him and enthroning him to

immortal glory in the annals of history. His name stands for all that is great and good in our traditional history while in folklore he stands for justice and fair-play.

It is a matter of great pride and joy to me that a tribute is being paid to the sacred memory of this great King in the form of a series of commemoration volumes published by the Vikram Bimille-nium Celebrations Committee, Gwalior. The volume in English has been edited by a savant whose scholarship in every way equals the magnitude of the task. No better person than Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji could have been chosen for this important work. I have much pleasure in commending this scholarly work as a befitting memorial to the great states-man-warrior. I hope its contents will inspire the present generation to greater efforts in the fields of arts, sciences and culture to the everlasting glory of our beloved motherland.

PREFACE

The 2000th year of the Vikrama Era was rightly regarded as a memorable occasion in the long and glorious traditions of Indian history and culture. Emperor Vikramaditya who has been glorified as an emblem of valour, chivalry and justice in legend and literature had, it is said, his capital at Ujjayini or Avantika. Since this city was in modern times included in the former Gwalior State (now the United State of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa or Madhya Bharat), a proposal to celebrate the Vikrama Bimillennium on a befitting scale received the gracious approval and patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. A Committee was constituted in 1943 A. D. for this purpose of which the undersigned had the honour of being the General Secretary. An ambitious plan for celebrating the historic occasion was drawn up and was well on the way of implementation. As Providence would have it the celebrations could not be held. It was, however, found possible to continue with the scheme to publish commemoration volumes in Hindi, Marathi and English. Commemoration volumes in the first two languages have been published earlier. The English volume which has been edited

by a scholar of the eminence of Dr. R. K. Mukerji of the Lucknow University is being published now. It is hoped that the scholarly and authoritative articles on the Vikrama Problem included in this volume will more than compensate the delay in publication. The thanks of the Committee are due to Dr. R. K. Mukerji for having kindly edited the volume and to other scholars for having contributed valuable articles to it. Thanks are also due to Mr. A. K. Shirke, Manager, A. D. Press, for having arranged to print the book in spite of various handicaps.

The publication of these commemoration volumes would not have been possible but for the generosity and patronage of Lt.-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Jiwajirao Scindia to whom the Committee is particularly grateful.

Varsha Pratipada,
Samvat 2006,
(30th March 1949).

YUDHISHTHIR BHARGAVA,
Secretary.

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The year 1943 marked the year 2000 of Vikrama Era and the whole of Hindu India was stirred to celebrate the occasion. There were many local celebrations of the event at different centres, and a central celebration was held by the All-India Hindu Mahāsabhā at Amritsar in December 1943, which was opened by the then Minister of the Panjab Government Sir Manohar Lal and presided over by my humble self. But there was a keen popular demand in the whole country that His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, as the ruler of the region with its city of Ujjayinī associated with King Vikramāditya of old, should also make his princely contribution to the Vikrama Bi-Millennium Celebration on a fitting scale. A Manifesto was issued by distinguished Indian leaders under the auspices of the Government of Gwalior, pointing out that "a celebration of the 2000th anniversary of the commencement of the Vikrama Era would not be out of place especially at a time when India is culturally in the transitional stage, and when, with a view to forging the metal of things to come, a careful valuation of the materials of the past is much to be desired."

The Government of Gwalior decided that a most suitable form of the Vikrama Celebration should be

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“the publication of a Commemoration Volume containing articles by eminent scholars on any subject connected with the following broad divisions, *viz.*, (a) The (Mālava) Vikrama Era in Indian History; (b) King Vikramāditya in Indian History; and (c) Ujjain as a centre of India's History and Culture through the ages.”

The Government of Gwalior also set up a Central Committee for the Vikrama Second Millennium Celebrations and was pleased to appoint me as the General Editor of the projected Vikrama Volume.

I have much pleasure in now presenting the Volume before the public. The delay in its publication has been caused by the conditions created by the War and the resulting difficulties of printing due to shortage of paper.

It is a source of great gratification to me as the Editor of the Volume that it has been able to attract so many learned articles from scholars who are acknowledged authorities on the topics and themes on which they have written. These deal with every possible aspect connected with the subject-matter prescribed for the Volume. I owe special acknowledgement to everyone of the contributors to the Volume for the readiness and promptitude with which his promised contribution was sent. My only regret is that the Press and the Executive concerned were not as ready and prompt in printing off the articles as they came.

The promoters of the Scheme were not unmindful of the inherent difficulty of their task. In their Manifesto they state: “A large part of India has for many centuries recorded the passage of time by the Sāmvat reckoning, according to which the present

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year is Samvat 2000. Traditionally, the name of King Vikramāditya is associated with the commencement of this Era, and there is a wide-spread belief that the capital of that ancient hero-king was in the vicinity of the present city of Ujjain, in Gwalior State.... Whatever be the basis of the above tradition in historic fact, it seems certain that such a cultural centre did exist, and the Vikrama Era dates from the time when its creator held sway in or near Ujjain."

Thus the entire Vikrama Celebration has been inspired by tradition, a romance of History, but a romance which has influenced the national mind of India as much as the actual facts of life or historic realities and movements.

The Editor's task is the difficult one of assessing and appraising the varied and conflicting material presented by scholars holding different views on the main topics of the Volume, and to help the reader, if possible, to his own conclusions.

Indeed, the problem of Vikramāditya is one of the most difficult controversies of Indian History. The solution of the problem is handicapped by the usual disadvantage attaching to the ancient history of the Hindus, its lack of chronological data and documents with the help of which history proper, as a record of dated facts and events, can be constructed. While we are all familiar with the Vikrama Era, and the numerous reckonings in that era through centuries of our national history, we do not yet know precisely who was the great king that founded this remarkable era adopted by so many dynasties of rulers in different provinces and periods. King Vikramāditya still remains a name and a tradition in Indian

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History to whom even the most arduous research has not been able to impart its due degree of historicity.

But, in the meanwhile, we can feed our nationalism upon romance, for romance also has a reality of its own, and can in some cases influence national reconstruction more than the real characters of history. Is not Desdemona a far more real and moving character than many an actual example of womanhood, a far more inspiring example of womanly chastity than many a *Satī* in real life? The poet creates characters which are sometimes more potent and living than real men and women in life. *Ūrmilā* of whom we get glimpses on rare occasions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an example of feminine perfection for all time, no matter whether she was the real consort of heroic Lakshmaṇa.

Similarly, Vikramāditya is our great heroic and representative character round whom is woven a cycle of legends, the centre of our national hopes and aspirations of which he stands out through the ages as their unique embodiment. We associate with that romantic name the great Indian ruler who waged successfully the war of Indian independence against the foreign domination of the Śakas and earned for himself the abiding title of *Śakāri*. We look upon him as an unexampled patron of learning who gathered round his court a galaxy of master-minds, the Nine Gems or literary celebrities, each of whom was an unrivalled genius in his own sphere of creative art and shed his lustre of learning and culture on his age. We can well imagine what would be the accumulated effect of the combined lights of all these Nine Gems put together, the dazzling glare and glory of learning which to this day illumines India's literary firmament.

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Vikramāditya stands out also as the embodiment of the spirit of Indian independence at its best and highest, one who gave to India a sense of her national unity by achieving her political unification as a *Chakravartī* sovereign, but a sovereign who believed more in an empire of righteousness than in an empire won by force and maintained by violence.

As a student of history, I can only say that there is a historical sovereign who approximates very closely to what tradition records about Vikramāditya. He may be taken to be the great Gupta sovereign Chandra Gupta II, who was so fond of assuming the title of Vikramāditya on his coins and other titles based on *Vikrama* or prowess as the distinguishing feature of his personality. Thus he calls himself a "*Simha-Vikrama*", "*Ajita-Vikrama*", and even "*Vikramāṅka*".

But apart from titles, King Chandra Gupta II also corresponds to Vikramāditya of tradition as a Śakāri, the invincible adversary of the Śaka rulers of India, of whom he rid his motherland by his crushing conquests. Lastly, we may say that the great Gupta emperor also believed in other ideals, cultural and social, which are associated with the traditional Vikrama.

Even V. Smith has recorded his conclusion that "India was never governed better in the oriental manner than it was under this king." His opinion was based upon the record of the Chinese traveller, Fa-hien, who testifies to the remarkable degree of material and moral progress achieved by India under Chandra Gupta's beneficent administration. Fa-hien saw with his own eyes hundreds of educational institutions imparting the highest knowledge to their resident students who numbered thousands

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at each of these institutions. Even the frontier region of Swat Valley counted as many as 500 colleges, while the residential colleges in the Panjab counted a total of 10,000 students.

Lastly, the country was endowed with an adequate apparatus of public works of utility of different kinds, free hospitals, rest-houses giving free board and lodging to travellers, *Dharmaśālās* offering all possible amenities to the poor, and schools and colleges giving to their students free board, lodging, medicine, and tuition (See Article No. 15 adapted from a chapter in my work on *Gupta Empire* just published by Hind-Kitabs, Bombay).

Without losing ourselves in difficult chronological controversies, let us build up our national history on the basis of some of its romances which are more powerful formative forces than some of its actual events.

The present position of the controversy regarding the Vikrama problem may be now briefly stated. In this English Vikramāditya Volume have been brought together special articles written by learned scholars dealing with the various aspects and different points of the problem. The way to the solution of the problem is to comprehend the problem in all its possible bearings. Accordingly, the total Vikramāditya tradition in its different versions has to be critically examined and accurately recorded. This has been done by different scholars contributing to the Volume learned articles dealing with the Vikramāditya tradition in Sanskrit, Jain, and Prakrit works. A critical study of this vast and varied tradition provides the basis upon which proper trustworthy history can be constructed out of its material.

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As the General Editor of the Volume, I may sum up briefly some of the facts, arguments and conclusions adduced by different scholars towards the construction of such a history.

Time was when Vikramāditya was denied recognition as a historical person, in spite of the vast volume of literary and oral tradition testifying to his historicity, on the ground that there was hardly any epigraphic evidence to support the literary. Of late, however, there has been a change in that attitude by the consideration that a long-continued tradition which was, moreover, by its vitality capable of growth in time, must have had its roots in some kind of reality to sustain it. This view has been held by several Western Scholars like Drs. Franklin Edgerton, Sten Konow, E. J. Rapson, and several others.

The Vikramāditya tradition, as will be seen from some of the papers on the subject, is made up of two elements, one of which is predominantly supernatural and the other more historical. The miraculous powers of the hero are generally emphasised in the Sanskrit stories such as *Vetālapañchavimśati* and *Dvātrīṃśatputtalikā*. These try to make out the king as a superman. The corrective is, however, applied by the Jain works which take him as a real historical personage whose father, Gardabhila, lost the kingdom of Ujjayinī to the Śaka invaders. But he recovered the lost kingdom of his father and reigned in glory for sixty years, as is stated, for instance, in the Jain work Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī*. This work also attempts a chronological history of the times, assigning to Vikramāditya a reign of sixty years from 57 B. C., the starting-point of the era founded by him. As has been shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Article No. 13); Merutuṅga's version of

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history is not entirely out of keeping with the history derived from other sources. For instance, in the age of Vikramāditya, while the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the Deccan, the Śakas were already penetrating into its neighbouring regions. Their leader Chashtana founded his kingdom in Western India and its capital at Ujjain. There is nothing inherently improbable in an Indian king coming into conflict with the Śakas and trying to rid his country of foreign rule.

Much is made of the fact that there is no contemporary evidence testifying to his existence, such as a coin or an inscription. But such evidence is also lacking for some of the great kings of early age such as Chandragupta Maurya, or his son Bindusāra, or the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra, or an earlier king like Mahāpadma Nanda, whose historicity is taken to be established on the evidence of literary works, foreign and Indian. At the most, we should keep King Vikramāditya for the time being on the waiting list, pending fuller examination of the legends that have gathered round him through the ages, instead of exploding him completely.

The next point of doubt and controversy regarding Vikramāditya and his connection with the Vikrama era is that this connection appears much later after its starting point and grew up by a gradual process. But this fact by itself should not lead to any definite conclusion. The Śaka era, for instance, labours under the same disadvantage, the earliest inscription using the name Śaka along with the era of 78 A. D. being dated as late as 500 of that era. Besides, the name of the founder of the Śaka era is not mentioned in any one of the numerous inscriptions dated in that era. In some inscriptions, even

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the name of the era is the composite name *Śalivāhana-Śaka*. The same kind of epigraphic practice is also seen in the case of the Gupta era. Most of the Gupta inscriptions omit the name of the Gupta era. A few mention the era as *Gupta-Kāla*, while the larger number refer to the era as merely *Samvat*, or *Varsha*, or *Abda*. At the same time, like the inscriptions of the Śaka era, the inscriptions in the Gupta era do not mention the name of the King who founded the era, nor even the fact that a Gupta King was the founder of that era, and yet these facts are not taken to militate against the conclusion that the Śaka era dates from the reign of Kanishka I and the Gupta era from that of Chandra Gupta I. Mr. R. V. Patwardhan (Article No 18) further points out that very often eras are started not by the heroes associated with them but by their followers, as in the case of Hejira of Islam or Śalivāhana-Śaka era.

The epigraphic position on the subject may be usefully summarised at the outset. Mr. Harihar Nivas Dvivedi (Article No. 6) has given the entire epigraphic material which makes his article very useful to the reader and for the Volume. The earliest inscription which first uses the Vikrama Era bears the date of 898 V. S. (*Kālasya Vikramā-khyasya*). The inscriptions of later dates use such expressions as *Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛīpa-Kāla*, *Śrī-nṛīpa-Vikrama-Samvat*, *Vikrama-Samvat*; also *Vikramāditya-bhūbhṛtaḥ* (Udaipur, V. S. 1028), *Vikramāditya-Kāle* (Vasantagaḍh, V. S. 1099), *Śrī-Vikramādityotpādita-Samvatsara* (Navsari, V. S. 1131).

Thus these inscriptions mention *Vikrama Samvat* by name, that it was named by a King (*nṛīpa*) named Vikrama, and that it was founded (*utpādita*) by him. They also assume the date of 57 B. C. as the date of

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its commencement. The difficulty which Epigraphists feel on the subject is that the name of Vikrama Era first receives its mention after a lapse of about 1,000 years from the date of its commencement.

Indeed, the epigraphic history of the Vikrama Era is somewhat curious. An era called by a different name *Kṛita* is mentioned in inscriptions dated V. S. 282 (Udaipur), 284 (Jaipur State), 295 (Do.), 335 (Do.), and 428 (Bijayagaḍh).

Next, the Mandasor (Gwalior State) inscription of 461 V. S. first records the curious fact that the era designated (*saṃjñita*) as *Kṛita* was handed down (*āmnāta*) by the Sovereign (*Srī*) Republic (*Gaṇa*) of the Mālavas. The Gaṅgdhār inscription of 480 V. S. mentions the *Kṛita* era, but the Nagari (Udaipur State) inscription of 481 V. S. mentions the *Kṛita* era as identical with the Mālava era (*Kṛiteshu asyām Mālava-pūrvāyām*).

The second Mandasor inscription of 493 V. S. drops the name *Kṛita* era which it calls *Mālava* era. The third Mandasor inscription of 524 V. S. uses the expression *vikhyāpake Mālava-vaṃśa-kīrteḥ* and thus mentions the Mālava era as commemorative of the *Kīrti* or fame of the Mālava clan (*Vaṃśa*). A fourth Mandasor inscription of V. S. 589 uses the expression *Mālava-gaṇasthiti-vaśāt kālajñānāya likhiteshu*. It refers to the Kāla or Era which is to be understood or reckoned in accordance with the system (*sthitivaśāt*) established by the Mālava-gaṇa. The term *Sthiti* is used in the Smṛiti texts, e. g., *Nārada* (X. I), in the sense of an established custom which is also called *Samaya* and *Samvit*, the fundamental agreement or constitution upon which a corporation is founded. Thus the above expression should mean the reckoning of time in accordance

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with the established law and constitution (*Sthiti*) of Mālava Republic, which means reckoning in the Mālava era. Another inscription of 795 V. S. uses the expression *Samvatsara...Mālaveśānām*, which implies that the Mālava era was founded by the Chiefs of the Mālavas.

It will thus be seen that, as Dr. A. S. Altekar points out (Article No. 1), it is not possible to argue that the Vikrama, Mālava and Kṛita eras are different, for it is well known that the dates of these eras are confirmed only if they are referred to the era founded in 57 B. C. Later, as we have seen, these three eras, *Kṛita*, *Mālava* and *Vikrama*, which had a common starting point, had their separate names merged in a common name, viz., the *Vikrama* Era.

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Mālava-Gaṇa-Sthiti admits of only one interpretation and should mean the constitution of the Mālava republic or *Gaṇa*.

Another epigraphic difficulty centres round the meaning of the term *Kṛita*. Dr. A. S. Altekar (Article No. 1) takes it to be the name of an individual, a General or President of the Mālava *Gaṇa*, a name that is known as the name of a god, of the son of Vasudeva and Rohini, and even the name of a king in the *Kathā-saritsāgara* (Penzer, III. 19), and so forth. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Article No. 4) answers him by pointing out that in none of the inscriptions the usual honorific *Śrī* has been prefixed to *Kṛita* as it should have been if he were a Chief or a General. Besides, the expression in the Nāndsā inscription, '*Kṛitayor = dvayoḥ śatayor* etc.', cannot be taken to mean 'of 200 rulers named Kṛita'. It clearly means 282 years in the Kṛita era. Dr. Bhandarkar takes the Kṛita years to be years of the *Kṛita Yuga*, which he supposes to have been inaugurated by Pushyamitra as a Brāhmaṇa King whose date is to be altered from the accepted date of 180 B. C. assumed on the basis of the Purāṇas to 75 B. C. in the light of the Ayodhyā inscription written in characters of the first century A. D. and issued by Dhanadeva who was sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra and may be assigned to 75 A.D. He goes so far as to assume that Pushyamitra corresponds to the description of Kalki Avatāra in the *Mahābhārata* describing how he would exterminate the Dasyus, perform *Aśvamedha*, and give back the earth to Brāhmaṇas.

There is again a view that the term *Kṛita* may be taken to mean the year which is not current but elapsed (*atikrānta*). But it is difficult to reconcile it with the expression—'*Mālava-gaṇāmnāte Kṛitasamjñite*'.

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Dr. D.C. Sircar (Article No. 24) puts the epigraphic position on a different and totally new footing. Firstly, he points out that before the Christian era India had no popular and regular era of her own and of indigenous origin. Aśoka, for instance, had his dates counted from his *abhisheka* or coronation. The use of an era was popularised in India by foreigners. Secondly, Dr. Sircar thinks that the Scytho-Parthian era used in the inscriptions of Gondopharnes, Maues, Soḍāsa and others is to be identified with the Vikrama-Samvat of 58 B. C. and that it was connected with the tradition of King Vikrama, whom he takes to be Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (A. D. 376-414), about the eighth century A. D. Thirdly, he holds that the Kanishka era is to be identified with the *Śakābda* of 78 A. D. which was named after the Śakas owing to the Śaka Satraps of Western India using the era continuously for a long time.

Another difficulty in the way of establishing the historicity of King Vikrama and his era is that the inscriptions show the continuity of Śaka rule in Ujjayini from the time of Chasṭana (c. A.D. 78-110) up to that of Rudra Simha III whose coins show that he had ruled up to at least 390 A. D. till he was killed by Chandra Gupta II who thus earned the credit of putting an end to the Śaka rule which had continued unbroken for about 300 years. There is no place for any other *Śakāri* in the true sense of the term than Chandra Gupta II who for ever exterminated the Śakas in India. At best, the earlier *Śakāri* of 57 B. C. was not able to crush the power of the Śakas except for a short period.

In this connexion may be considered the view of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal that Vikramāditya

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is to be identified with the Āndhra king named Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-130 A. D.). No doubt, Gautamīputra was a Śakāri who avenged himself on the Kshaharāta Śaka king Nahapāna (c. 118-124 A. D.) by defeating him and recovering the Āndhra territories conquered by him. In the year 19 (A. D. 149) of his reign, King Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi issued his Nasik Cave Inscription which describes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as the exterminator of the Kshaharāta dynasty (*Khakha-rāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa*), and “the destroyer of Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas”, and details his conquests. But most of these conquests were soon lost to the Kshatrapa king Rudradāman I (A. D. 130-150) who ‘twice in fair fight completely defeated his son Śātakarṇi taken as either Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi or his brother Puḷumāvi. The Āndhra-Śaka conflict was ended by a matrimonial alliance. Their dates are also later than 57 B. C. Besides, Gautamīputra does not take the title of *Vikramāditya*, though an allusion to the title is read by some in the following words of the inscription—“*Varavārāṇa-vikrama-chāru-vikramasya*”. He also had his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna and not at Ujjayinī or Pāṭaliputra.

Some very original and novel evidence is given in a learned article contributed by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Article No. 11). As she points out, Jain literature, works of poetry, legends and ecclesiastical history contain references to Vikramāditya as the Śakāri and *Samvatsara-Pravartaka*. But even the dry literature of chronological and genealogical Lists of Pontiffs and their contemporaneous rulers, the Gurvāvalis and Paṭṭāvalis, etc., repeat that Vikramāditya was a historical Jain king whose Samvat started 470 years after Mahāvīra’s Nirvāna. They

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also connect the king with the Jain poet and logician Siddhasena Divākara. Verse 10 of the 22nd Prakaraṇa of the work known as *Jyotirvidābharana* mentioning Kshapaṇaka as one of the Nine Gems of Vikramāditya's court may be no other than this Siddhasena also called Śrutasena in Verse 9. Besides, the two works named *Ratnasañchaya-Prakaraṇa* and *Vichārasāra-Prakaraṇa* which are taken as historical works state that Siddhasena Divākara flourished five hundred years after Mahāvīra, and Vikrama, 470 years, thus making them contemporaries.

Siddhasena's own work named *Guṇavachana-Dvātrīṃśikā* throws new light on Vikrama problems. It is addressed to his royal patron in words of panegyric which can best apply to a king like Samudra Gupta whose many qualities of head and heart, of military heroism and literary art, are described so graphically in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription. A close comparison of these two documents leads Dr. Krause to identify Vikramāditya of the tradition with Samudra Gupta, the most famous of the Gupta Emperors. The reader is referred to the text of the aforesaid Jain work and its translation given by Dr. Krause in her Article.

Regarding the Jain tradition already discussed, it is to be noted that it is very late. Its most important texts date from V. S. 1200 to 1500. The main texts of this period are referred to by Prof. H. D. Velankar (Article No. 28) in his article. It seems that Vikrama was acceptable to Jain thought by degrees and stages. Some of his virtues and achievements which were connected with violence and adventure were not in keeping with Jain ideals.

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Eventually he was assimilated to Jain thought. One important work named *Vikramacharitra* written by *Devamūrti* about V. S. 1475 (a MS used by Prof. Velankar) makes Vikrama as a regular devout Jain king. In fact, the Jain tradition representing Vikrama as a Jain king was a somewhat late growth, appearing after about a hundred years after the Jain king Kumārapāla.

It is noteworthy that the Jain tradition represents Vikrama as a commoner and an adventurer who conquered the kingdom of Avanti by force. He is also represented as being possessed of a spirit of abandon and generosity which made him risk his life and kingdom in the service of others. This has suggested a theory that Vikrama was the leader of *Mālana-gaṇa* and in a patriotic and generous spirit put his community before himself and allowed the Era to be called after it. Or, again, it has been held (by late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar) that Vikramāditya with the help of the tribes headed by the Mālavas defeated the Śakas and the victory was celebrated by the Mālavas founding their era and their leader assuming the title of Vikramāditya. In later tradition, he was given his due when other kings like Chandra Gupta II began to assume the title of *Vikramāditya*.

Of all literary works, the Jain story contained in the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* approximates most to acceptable history. Kālaka, a prince of Dhārā, and his sister Sarasvatī turned ascetics, and wandered about. Kālaka became the head of his *Gaṇa*. He visited Ujjayinī where the King Gardabhila confined his sister. To avenge this outrage, he sought the help of the Śakas of Sindh then known as *Śakakula* under their emperor called *Shāhānushāhi*. One of the Śaka

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chiefs who lost the favour of the emperor fell in with the plan of Kālaka and became an adventurer and with the help of Kālaka was able to conquer Ujjayinī, defeating its infamous king. Then the story relates that the Śaka rule at Ujjayinī was after a short time (*kālena kiyatāpi hi*) extirpated (*uchchhedyā*) by 'Rājā Śrī-Vikramāditya' who became 'like a *Sārvabhauma*', King of Kings, and founded an era of his own (*vatsaram nijam*). But his dynasty (*anvaya*) was in its turn put an end to by the Śakas, after an interval of 135 years from the Vikrama era, when they founded an era of their own.

This story contains some historical elements. The Purāṇas know of a Gardabhila Dynasty as ruling in Ujjayinī. There was also Śaka rule in Sindh in the first century B. C. The terms *Śakakula* and *Shāhā-mushāhi* give historical touches to the legend. And it was quite probable that Śaka power extended up to Ujjayinī and roused Indian national sentiment which found its exponent in the heroic leader who liberated his sacred motherland from the yoke of foreign rule and earned the title of Vikramāditya and founded his era to mark that important victory and independence day of his nation. The weak points of the story are its references to a prince of Dhārā and King Śālīvāhana of Pratiśṭhāna of different known dates. The reader is referred to the details of the Jain tradition given in several Articles.

We may now examine the Sanskrit tradition regarding Vikrama. That tradition has always linked the great poet Kālidāsa with King Vikramāditya as one of the Nine Gems of his court. Kālidāsa himself hints at this connection in the title he has given to his drama *Vikramorvaśīya*, ignoring its hero who is called Purūravas. The word Vikrama is purposely

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used by the poet as a veiled compliment to his patron Vikramāditya. The pun is very happy because the word Vikrama also signifies valour. This pun is used by the poet twice in the drama : (1) *Amutsekaḥ khalu Vikramālaṅkāraḥ* (Act I). "Modesty is the ornament of valour"; (2) *Dishtyā Mahendrapakāraparyāptena Vikramamahimnā vardhate bhavān*, "Congratulations to you on the greatness of valour (Vikrama) which redounds to the credit of even the great Indra."

It is difficult to miss the meaning of these suggestions which Kālidāsa throws out as a mark of his gratitude to his royal patron. Thus the date of Vikramāditya is bound up with that of Kālidāsa. But the difficulty is that one date is as uncertain as the other. But it is not impossible to assess, appraise and reduce the uncertainty of both the dates and of the persons concerned. One should not make too much of the theory that Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya should be taken as the Vikramāditya of tradition and as the person who lent the weight and dignity of his name by reviving the Vikrama era of olden times. But unfortunately the successors of Chandra Gupta II have no concern for the Vikrama era, but adhere firmly to the era founded by their own illustrious family. The Girnar Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta ignores the Vikrama era altogether and proudly refers to the Gupta era (*Guptaparakāle gaṇanām vidhāya*). This shows that no change was then known in the established manner of computing time and dating important political events. In fact, as has been shown above, the earliest epigraphic reference to the Vikrama era is of the 9th century A.D. The fact that Chandra Gupta II did not associate himself with the Vikrama era but continued the era of his own family

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shows that he cannot be easily taken as the much older Vikramāditya of tradition. On the contrary, the very fact that Chandra Gupta II thought it worth his while with all his political eminence to appropriate the title Vikramāditya should be taken to indicate that in the 4th century A. D. the title was coming back to its own. It must have been the title of a real hero whose achievements appealed to a later one following in his footsteps.

There are again several points in the Sanskrit tradition regarding Vikramāditya which cannot be easily ignored. Its best version is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, of which the source is the *Bṛīhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya who is assigned to the 1st century A. D. and therefore had lived close to the time of Vikramāditya. Merely the fact that there is no other evidence except literary tradition regarding a king should not by itself rule out his historicity. In that case, a prominent king like Vatsarāja Udayana who exists only in tradition would become only a myth. Besides, there is nothing improbable or unreasonable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* tradition based upon contemporary old traditions that gathered round Vikramāditya and were handed down from generation to generation. That tradition describes him as the son of Mahendrāditya of the Paramāra dynasty, emperor of Ujjain. It represents him as a devotee of Śiva, bearing the name Mālyavat, whom the gods sent down to earth to serve as the instrument for the extermination of the Mlechchhas and of the prosecution of the sacred mission for the revival of Vedic religion and social system against the prevalence of contrary creeds, anti-Vedic doctrines and practices. During his long and glorious reign he was able to achieve his mission and was able to make Malwa the stronghold of Brāh-

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manical learning, religion and culture against the heretical doctrines of Buddhism and Jainism.

There was a link between such a king and Kālidāsa in the devotion of both to Śaivism. Kālidāsa could not have flourished in the atmosphere of Vaishnavism associated with the Gupta kings.

There are also several proofs in the works of Kālidāsa to show that his time might have been earlier than the 4th or 5th century A. D. as generally assumed.

The date of Kālidāsa is a most difficult problem of history and literature because Kālidāsa himself scrupulously maintains a complete silence about his personal life and his times. His silence has given great scope to imagination and speculation on the subject. On the present occasion, we may fix beyond doubt the foundations of such speculation. The Aihole Inscription of Ravikīrti who glorifies his patron Pulakeśin II mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi before its date 634 A. D. Then again the Mandasor Inscription of Vatsabhaṭṭi which is dated 472 A. D. contains verses which are admittedly based upon those of Kālidāsa's *Ṛitusamhāra* and *Meghadūta* : e. g. Vatsabhaṭṭi 10=Meghadūta 66; Vatsabhaṭṭi 33=Ṛitusamhāra 5.9. There can be no doubt that Vatsabhaṭṭi is a poet much inferior to Kālidāsa who served as his model in composition. Therefore Kālidāsa should have lived before 472 A. D. Much is made of the mention of Diñnāga by Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta* 14. This Diñnāga is generally taken to be the Gupta logician assigned to the 6th century A. D. But the date of Diñnāga itself is not settled. Keith places him not later than 400 A. D. There are also other Diñnāgas who are not Buddhists. One such is the author of the *Kundamālā* in which he appears as a

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devotee of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) and Śiva. Therefore, it may be that the Diānāga whom Kālidāsa had in view was other than the disciple of Vasubandhu. Another argument is based upon the description of the Digvijaya of Raghu in *Raghuvamśa* IV where Kālidāsa refers to the defeat of the Hūṇas on the banks of Vaṅkshu=Oxus. It is assumed that the Hūṇas were settled in the region of the Oxus about 450 A. D. after which they made a descent on India, as stated in the Girnar Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta. Against this it is to be noted that there is a reading *Sindhu* in place of *Vaṅkshu*, and it is not reasonable to assume that, instead of describing the beauties of the river Sindhu of his own country, a patriot like Kālidāsa should enthuse over those of a distant river like the Oxus in a far-off foreign country. Besides the philological equation Vaṅkshu=Oxus is not free from doubt, while the growth of saffron which Kālidāsa mentions in this connection points to Kashmir rather than to the region of the Oxus where it is not grown.

The last point to be discussed on the subject is the chronological relationship between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. Aśvaghoṣa was a Buddhist philosopher of the 1st century A. D. and is known as the author of two poetical works called *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacharita*. These works are full of passages which bear close resemblance to some of the passages of Kālidāsa. The best examples of these resemblances are: Verses 13-23 in the 3rd canto of the *Buddhacharita*, paralleled by Verses 56-62 in the 7th canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* repeated in the 6th canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. The question of chronological priority cannot be decided on the simple basis that the cruder work must be earlier than the more

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finished one. Great poets are always followed by a race of poetasters. A literary masterpiece is followed by imitations paying homage to its inimitable superiority. The true criterion for determining chronological sequence is to be found in the literary form and style of the compositions concerned. It may be noted that the first two cantos of the *Saundarananda* and the second canto of the *Buddhacharita* give vent to the poet's inordinate love of aorist forms and his anxiety to parade his mastery of grammatical rules in the manner of Bhaṭṭi and other classical writers. For instance, in *Saundarananda* I. 15 the poet seizes upon the form *mīyate* to show off his knowledge of the four different meanings which it may bear according as it is derived from *mi* to perceive, *mī* to injure, *mā* with *ni* to reap and *mi* with *pra* to die. This peculiar literary tendency towards the artificial reaches its climax in *Buddhacharita* XI. 17 where the root *av* is used in nine different senses. Kālidāsa is entirely free from this artificial mannerism and literary conceit aiming at effect, which mark later writers.

Lastly may be considered the partiality shown by Kālidāsa in his works for Avanti and its capital Ujjayinī. They also show his acquaintance with the royal court, its life and etiquette, the scope it gave for studying different classes of men flocking to the court, kings and sages, refined and cultured classes, fashionable city-folks, together with downright ascetics, sophisticated urban women and simple lasses of the countryside, servants, soldiers, fishermen, and the like. His affluent worldly circumstances due to royal patronage have shaped his psychology to which appropriate expression is found in his works of which the predominant tone and note is one of optimism induced by enjoyment of the good things of the world.

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So far we have discussed the Sanskritic tradition which connects Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya. We shall now refer briefly to other points and aspects of that tradition. It has been dealt with fully by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer of the Lucknow University (Article No. 8). The earliest work containing a reference to Vikramāditya is the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya written in Paisāchī, but this original is lost and is traced in three Sanskrit summaries. The original, according to Winternitz, is as old as the first century A. D. and thus nearest to the time of Vikrama. It contained a cycle of stories about Vikrama, one of which is supposed to be cited by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*, though its meaning is not clear. The next work referring to Vikrama is the *Sattasāi* (*Saptaśatī*) of Hāla, the Andhra king of the Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana dynasty from whose date Winternitz takes the date of his work to be the first or second century A. D. The reference is to Vikramāditya giving a lac to his servant who helped him to destroy his enemy (*samvāhaṇasuharatosieṇa*). Thus it mentions the tradition of Vikramāditya's generosity to which there are also references in other works.

Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* contains another tradition about the personality of Vikrama : "With the passing away of Vikramāditya, all taste has passed out of the earth now left to poetasters, just as from a dried up lake all swans disappear (*sarasīva kīrtiśeṣam*)."

Bhoja's *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* contains the interesting reference that what Āḍhyarāja (*i. e.*, Śālivāhana) was to Prakrit, Sāhasāṅka (*i. e.*, Vikramāṅka) was to Sanskrit as its patron (*Ke'bhūvan na Āḍhyarājasya rājye Prākṛitabhāṣiṇaḥ*) Kāle Śrī-Sāha-

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sāṅkasya ke na Saṁskṛitavādinah||). Thus there was an established tradition in the country that Sanskrit owed most to Vikramāditya's patronage.

The *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* extols the *tyāga* or self-sacrifice of *Vīra-Śrīvara* Vikramāṅka for the sake of others' (*poshaṇa*).

All these stray stories spread through the country the fame of Vikramāditya for his philanthropy and patronage of learning, so that his name became a coveted title for which later kings were longing. The Vikramāditya tradition was growing and expanding till we find its complete presentation in the two Kashmiri works, the *Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī* of Kshemendra (c. 1037 A. D.) and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (c. 1081 A. D.). Following these works may be counted the *Simhāsanadvātriṁśikā* available in five recensions containing stories related to King Bhoja of Dhārī who ruled in the first half of the 11th century A. D. These stories are different from those of the Kashmiri works and therefore help to complete the Vikramāditya tradition by their supplementary information. The work is also known by the name of *Vikramacharita* and is available in Jain recensions, showing the strength and popularity of the Vikramāditya tradition.

Two interesting works, the *Vīracharita* of Ananta and the *Śālivāhanakathā* of Śivadāsa, tell of the rivalry of the two kings as Patrons respectively of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

We may now draw a complete picture of the character of Vikramāditya on the basis of the stories contained in different literary works.

The first feature of his character is his unparalleled generosity on which so many works harp

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as their common theme. A typical reference may be cited from the *Vikramacharita*: "The King's mere *look* meant a gift of a thousand to the beggar; mere *word* 10,000; a *smile*, 100,000 (*hasane laksham āpnoti*); his *satisfaction*, 1 crore (*saṃtusṭaḥ koṭido nṛipaḥ*)."
"In his mind there was no distinction between *meum* and *tuum*, self and others (*tasya chetasy ayam paro'yam madīya iti vikalpo nāsti*)".

Vikrama was as well-known for his reckless generosity as for his indomitable courage which did not care for life. "In the olden time lived a king named Vikramatunga who never shrank from charity nor from battle with his enemy." "None was equal to him (*tatsamo nāsti*) in courage (*sāhasa*), energy (*udyama*), and patience (*dhairya*)".

The *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī* has a remarkable passage describing how Vikramāditya was the hero who saved India and her civilisation from the onslaught of foreign invaders "with their impure manners and customs (*tyaktāchārān*) and undisciplined ways (*viśṛīṅkhalān*), peoples named by the generic term Mlechchhas such as 'Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Nichas, Hūṇas, barbarians (*barbarān*), Tushāras, Pārasikas,' and thus relieved the country of this burden of *adharma* by a mere frown.

The tradition testifying to the Nine Gems adorning his Court is only based on the fact of his patronage drawing to it the learned men of the times. They would, in the words of Jain *Vikramacharita*, thus sing the praises of the King: "O Superman (Deva) ! All the oceans which were sucked dry (*śoshitāḥ*) by the jets of flames from the consuming fire of the prowess of thy feet (*tvachcharaṇa-pratāpa-dahana-jvālāvali*) have been refilled by the showers of tears flowing

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from the eyes of thy enemies' wives (*riṣuvadhū-netrāmbubhiḥ pūritāḥ*)."

Tradition also counts Vikrama as a poet whose verses are cited in works like the *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (1467 A. D.), the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.) and a few others. A typical Vikrama verse may be cited from the *Vidyākaraśaṣṭaka* : "There is nectar in the mouth of women but poison undiluted in their hearts. That is why their lips are sucked but their breasts squeezed hard with hands."

Besides poetry, Vikrama is also credited with the authorship of a lexicographical work in *Saṁsārāvarta* and also of a *Dhamurveda* according to Bühler's *Report*.

The Jain recension of *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* represents Vikrama being converted to Jainism by Siddhasena Divākara.

Lastly, it may be noted that there is a strong Sanskrit tradition regarding the Nine Gems or literary celebrities adorning the court of King Vikramāditya. A comprehensive paper on all the Nine Gems together has been contributed by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya of Baroda (Article No. 5) in his usual scholarly manner, while several learned articles have been contributed on some of the individual *Gems* by other scholars, such as Mr. S. L. Katre (Article No. 9) on the Ghaṭakarpara Problem, Mr. P. K. Gode (Article No. 7) on Dhanvantari, etc. Lists of these literary celebrities are given in the work named *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* written by the author named Gaṇaka Kālidāsa assigned to Śaka year 1164, as pointed out by Dr. Bhattacharyya. This work gives three lists of literary men associated with the court of Vikramāditya. Firstly, there is a list of what are

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called *Sabhāsads*, 'those belonging to the king's court'. These were Śaṅku, Vararuchi, Maṇi, Aṅgudatta, Jishṇu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghaṭākarpāra and Amarasimha. Then there are mentioned seven *kavis* or poets who are called *Kālatantra* for their proficiency in the science of reckoning time. These are Satya, Varāhamihira, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha and Kumārasimha. Thirdly, the Nine Literary Gems proper selected out of the previous lists are thus enumerated: Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasimha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭākarpāra, Kālīdāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi. It is difficult to prove whether all these men of letters were living in the same time and were flourishing together at the court of King Vikramāditya. But Mr. R. V. Patwardhan of Poona (Article No. 18) argues that some of these Nine Gems can be assigned to the 1st century B. C. and the traditional time and court of Vikramāditya.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to make some acknowledgements. I am grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior for the honour done to me by appointing me as the General Editor of this Vikramāditya Volume. I have also to record my appreciation of the valuable help rendered to me in the performance of my editorial task by Mr. S. L. Katre, Curator of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, by his sound historical scholarship and knowledge of Sanskrit and Epigraphy which have enabled him to correct the proofs of the work so thoroughly and add to the Volume an elaborate Index. I also need hardly say that, though I have singled out the names of some scholars in the course of my arguments, the value of the Volume as a record of

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research in a most controversial field of Ancient Indian History is the collective outcome and product of all the articles of which it is made up. Lastly, the success of the Volume is also due to a large extent to the keen interest taken in it by Sardar K. D. Mahadik, President of the Gwalior Vikrama Celebrations Committee, and Mr. B. K. Chaturvedi, the General Secretary of the Committee, whose cultural enthusiasm and idealism were a source of great encouragement to me personally in the very agreeable literary venture I had undertaken.

39 Ekdalia Road,
Ballyganj,
CALCUTTA
1st December, 1947

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI
General Editor.

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THE RIDDLE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA

By

A. S. ALTEKAR, Benares

It is indeed strange that even in the year 2000 of the Vikrama Era there should be prevailing almost an impenetrable mystery about its traditional founder, and this, in spite of the research work of more than a century both by Indians and Europeans. There was indeed a time when scholars like Fergusson argued that the era was founded only in 544 A. D., to commemorate the defeat of the Hūṇas by king Yaśovardhana of Malwa and antedated by six centuries in order to give it a respectable antiquity. This view is now no longer possible, for we have discovered several inscriptions that can be clearly referred to this era and that belong to its 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries. It is therefore clear that the era does not owe its origin to a fraud sought to be practised on posterity by an ingenious conqueror of the 6th century.

There are various theories in the field about the founder and the foundation of the Vikrama era. As the era was founded by the middle of the 1st century B. C., *prima facie* it should have been started by some

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king who flourished at that time. It was, therefore, argued by Sir J. Marshall that it may have been started by the Parthian king Azes, who had founded a fairly prosperous kingdom in the Punjab and Sindh by c. 60 B. C. It is true that Azes had founded an era, but it was known after him as the era of Azes¹, and was designated in Prakrit sometimes as the era of Aya¹ and sometimes as the era of Aja². Azes did not have the title of Vikrama, and there is no evidence to show that his era had ever become current outside his dominion, say in Madhyadeśa or Rajputana or Central India.

Fleet's view that the Vikrama era was started by king Kanishka is now no longer tenable in view of the archaeological discoveries at Taxila, which clearly indicate that Kanishka flourished not sometime in the 1st century B. C. but sometime in the 1st century A. D., if not later.

Kielhorn had given his weight to the curious theory that the Vikrama era was named not after a king but after the name of the season in which its first month begins. In many parts of the country, Kārttika is the opening month of the year of the Vikrama era. This month forms part of the Śarad season which, according to Indian traditions, is preeminently the season for valour (*vikrama*). Kielhorn suggests that it was but natural that an era, the opening month of which fell in Śarad season, preeminently propitious for *vikrama*, should naturally have been known as Vikrama era³. We have, however, no other instance of any era being thus named after a season, and so the theory appears extremely unconvincing.

1. Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription, *E. I.*, XIV, P. 295.

2. Kalwan Inscription, *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, P. 949.

3. *I. A.*, 1891, Pp. 403 ff.

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One of the most obvious ways to solve the riddle of this era would be to find out how it was named in the *earliest* times. In this connection we have the evidence of inscriptions and traditions to consider and we shall first see what the first of them have to say upon the point.

Available inscriptions show that the era was no doubt known as Vikrama era and described as *Kālasya Vikramākhyasya* (in V. S. 898), *Vikramāditya-bhūbhṛtaḥ Kāle* (in V. S. 1028), *Śrīmad-Vikramādityotpāditasaṁvat-sara* (in V. S. 1176)¹, showing that from the 9th century A. D. there is evidence to show that the era was believed to have been founded by a king named Vikrama, who was taken to have flourished in c. 57 B.C. It may, however, be noted that only about 10 to 15% of the available inscriptions of the period name it after king Vikrama; the rest simply describe it as *Samvat*, without associating the name of any king with it.

If, however, we examine the inscriptions of earlier centuries we find that the association of Vikrama with the foundation of this era becomes still more rare. Out of the 34 inscriptions of this era that can be referred to its 10th century, 32 describe it simply as *Samvat*; one only calls it *Vikramakāla* (Baijpur Inscription of king Vidagdharāja, V. S. 973), while another specifies it as *Mālavakāla* (Gyaraspur Inscription, dated V. S. 936). Out of the ten inscriptions of the 9th century of this era, only one refers to it as the era of Vikrama (*Kālasya Vikramākhyasya*—Dholpur Inscription, V. S. 898), while the remaining nine describe it simply as

1. In Dr. Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Indian Inscriptions*, published as an Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX—XXIII, the reader will get all references to the inscriptions referred to in this paper.

Samvat Among the seven inscriptions of the 8th century of this era, not a single genuine one gives it the name of Vikrama. The Dhinkini copper plates of Jāikadeva no doubt use the expression *Vikramasamvatsara-sateshu saptasu*, but the present writer has now conclusively proved that these plates are spurious¹. The occurrence of the name Vikrama in that record therefore can no longer be used to prove that it was current in the 7th century.

As we examine still earlier inscriptions, we find that the era was known as Mālava era. We have shown above that the era was so named in the Gyaraspur inscription of 936 V. E.; this name is seen to be its popular name during the sixth century. Thus a Mandasore inscription, dated in V. E. 589, describes its date as referring to an era founded for the calculation of time in the Mālava tribe or republic (*Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt Kālajñānāya lkhiteshu*).

During the 5th century, however, the era was sometimes described as Mālava era, sometimes as Kṛita era, and sometimes both as Mālava and Kṛita era. The passages in this connection may be quoted here for reference:—

1. मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां ऋतौ
सेव्यघनस्तने ॥

—Mandasore (Malwa) Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, V. E. 493.

2. कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु एकाशीत्युत्तरेषु अस्यां मालवपूर्वायाम् ।

—Nāgarī (Rajputana) Inscription, dated V. E. 481.

3. यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु शतेषु ।

—Gaṅgadhar (Rajputana) Inscription, V. E. 480.

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4. श्रीमालवगणान्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते। एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते
समाशतचतुष्टये ॥

—Mandasore (Malwa) Inscription of 461 V. E.

5. कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेष्वष्टाविंशेषु।

—Vijayagad (Bharatpur) Inscription of 428 V. E.

But if we examine the inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries of the Vikrama era we find that the name Mālava is altogether unknown and the era is described only as Kṛita era.

6-7. कृतेहि (=कृतैः) ३३५ ज्येष्ठ शु. १५; कृतेहि (=कृतैः) २८४
चैत्र शु. १५।

—Barnala (Jaipur) Yūpa Inscription of 335 and
284 V. E. (*E. I.*, XXVI., P. 118).

8-10. कृतेहि (=कृतैः) २९५ फाल्गुन शु. ५।

—Three Badava (Kotah State) Inscriptions of 295
V. E. (*E. I.*, XXIII, P. 42).

11. कृतयोर्द्वयोर्वर्षशतयोर्द्व्यंशतयोः चैत्रपूर्णमास्याम्।

—Nandsa (Udaipur) Yūpa Inscription of 282 V. E.

It is not possible to argue that the Vikrama, Mālava and Kṛita eras are different, for it is well-known that the dates of these eras are confirmed only if they are referred to the era founded in 57 B. C.

The main stumbling block in ascribing the foundation of the era to king Vikrama of the 1st century B. C. is its description as Kṛita era or Mālava era in its early records. If the era was founded by King Vikrama, is it not natural to expect that it should be known after him in its early history? As it is, down to the far end of the 9th century of the era, we have no epigraphical evidence to show that it was ever associated with king Vikrama. Even when his name was introduced in connection with the era, it took nearly five centuries for the

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name to become popular. The Gahadvala kings of U. P. use this era alone in their dozens of grants, but never call it as Vikrama era; they simply describe it as Samvat.

As regards this circumstance it is often argued that the inscription writers were not accustomed to give the proper names of the eras they were using. Thus the name Śaka came to be associated with the Śaka era only after five centuries; in the earlier period it had no proper name at all. The Gupta era was also known merely as Samvat for a long time; later on it began to be called Gupta-kāla or the Gupta era.

The above argument does not bear close examination. It is true that in a few inscriptions of the 1st century of the Gupta era it bears no proper name, but it begins to have it from its year 61; in the Mathurā inscription of that year it is described as *Guptakālānuvar-tamānasamvatsare ekashasṭe*. Why should 798 years be required for the name Vikrama being associated with the Vikrama era, if that king had really started it? Then we have further to note that it is not correct to state that the early inscriptions describe the era simply as *Samvat* and refrain from giving it any proper name. This is true only of the vast majority of the inscriptions of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. The inscriptions of the five preceding centuries do not merely not call it by the common name Samvat, but the passages quoted above will show that they give it two different proper names, neither of them being Vikrama. They call it sometimes as Mālava era, sometimes as Kṛita era, but never as Vikrama era. Of course, if inscriptions of the early period are later discovered which would be describing it as Vikrama era, then this argument will fall to the ground. But as matters stand today, the

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earliest inscriptions do not refer to the era by a general or common word like *Samvat*, but give it two different names, and neither of them is even remotely connected with king Vikrama. History shows that eras sometimes change their names; thus the Valabhi era was the name given to the Gupta era later in Kathiawar. But there is no doubt that not the later name *Valabhi-Samvat*, but the earlier name *Gupta-kāla* reveals to us the secret of its origin. Why should we assume that the latest name of the era, *Vikrama-Samvat*, and not the earlier names, *Mālava-kāla* or *Kṛita-kāla*, should be regarded as giving the proper clue to its origin? We should not also forget that the name *Vikrama-Samvat* is not only a late name associated with the era, but took several centuries for becoming popular or common. If Vikrama was well-known to be the real founder of the era throughout its first eight centuries, and if owing to some convention of the epigraphical records his name was not mentioned in them, we expect that the name should have become common when once the convention was broken in 898 V. E. For instance, there was the convention not to represent the Buddha in his human form down to about the beginning of the Christian era; but when once the convention was broken it took only a few decades for the Buddha image to become popular in the different schools of art. Why should five centuries be required for the name *Vikrama* era to become popular when it was once introduced, if it was vividly remembered that a hero of that name had founded it? Epigraphical evidence is thus inconsistent with the tradition that king Vikrama had started it. If the inscriptions had simply not named the era but called it merely *Samvat*, then we could have said that the tradition, if not confirmed by epigraphy, is not at least contradicted by it. When,

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however, early inscriptions give the era a proper name and it is different from that of Vikrama, we have to admit that the tradition is contradicted by inscriptions, many of which are government and not private records.

Let us now find out what light the literary evidence throws upon the historicity of Vikrama. It is argued that King Vikramāditya, mentioned in the 18th Chapter (*lambaka*) of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, is the founder of the Vikrama era. This king flourished at Ujjayinī and he is described as an incarnation of a *Gaṇa* of *Śaṅkara*, expressly sent for the extermination of the Mlechchhas. Had this tradition been recorded in a work of the 3rd or the 4th century A. D., its value would have been great. As it is, it is to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a work written admittedly in the 11th century. It may have some historic foundation, but in its present form it is mixed up with a lot of unhistorical material. For instance, it represents Vikrama as conquering Konkan, Deccan peninsula, U. P., Kathiawar, Bengal, Bihar and Kashmere. We are further told that king Śaktikumāra of Gauḍa, Jayadhvaḥ of Kārṇāṭaka, Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, Sunandana of Kashmir, Gopāla of Sindh and Nirmūka of Pārasika had come to his court to pay him homage. These kings, however, are not named in connection with the conquest of Vikramāditya as described in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* which gives a slightly earlier version of the story. Sober history also knows of no such kings ruling over the different provinces of India at that time, nor is there any evidence to show that any king of Ujjayinī of c. 50 B. C. had ever conquered practically the whole of India. It is therefore clear that the account about king Vikramāditya given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is mixed up with a lot of imaginary material, and as it proceeds from the pen of an 11th century writer its

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value in proving the historicity of Vikrama is not very great. It is further worth noting that the work does not state that the hero of the story founded any era. It no doubt states that he destroyed the Śakas, but the statement is made quite in a casual manner. The same is the case with the version in the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī*. By the time Kshemendra and Somadeva wrote their versions, several Vikramādityas had flourished in India and the country had been on several occasions freed from foreign invasions launched by the Śakas, the Parthians, the Hūnas, and the Muslims. It is therefore difficult to guarantee that they are not confusing later heroes and their achievements with the general who drove the Śakas in c. 50 B. C.

The *Saptasatī* of Hāla makes a casual reference to Vikramāditya in V. 64 as a king who used to give the reward of a lakh of coins to his successful generals. It is, however, by no means certain that the whole of this collection can go back to the 1st century A. D. Only 430 stanzas are to be found in all recensions, and it is clear that the collection was being enlarged in the course of time. The verse under discussion may be a later addition. On linguistic ground the work is usually assigned to a period between c. 200 and 450 A.D. and the verse under discussion can only show that a king named Vikramāditya was known at that time. The verse in question does not refer to Vikramāditya as a king of Ujjayinī nor to his wars with the Śakas nor to *his starting any era*. It has therefore hardly any value in the present controversy.

The *Vetālapañchavīṃśatī* and *Simhāsanabattisī* give a number of stories about Vikramāditya; but they belong more to the region of the fairy land than to the realm of history. These works are also fairly modern

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and throw no light on any historical events of the 1st century B. C.

A number of Purāṇas give us an account of the dynasties of the Kali age. While doing so, they refer to the rulers of Vidiśā and Malwa who flourished after the downfall of the Śuṅgas, but nowhere mention king Vikramāditya among them. It is true that they do not give the names of all the kings who ruled in Malwa, but it would appear as *prima facie* strange that they should have omitted the name of the most famous among them, while giving those of unimportant rulers like Śeṣha, Bhogi, Sadāchandra, Dhanadharman, etc. This is, of course, a negative evidence, but cannot be said to be altogether without some value.

It is, however, argued that the Jain tradition supports the theory that the era was started by king Vikrama, and let us now examine it. The authority of the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* is sometimes cited to prove that the era was known after Vikrama in Samvat 477 or 420 A. D. It is no doubt true that the colophon of this work claims that it was written as early as that year. But we cannot attach much importance to it, for it says that it was completed in V. S. 477, a year in which king Śīlāditya of Kathiawar had ousted the Buddhists from Valabhi. The latter statement is historically untrue for the first king of the name Śīlāditya flourished at Valabhi not earlier than 606 A. D. or 663 V. E. That Buddhists were not expelled from Valabhi even by this king in c. 610 A.D. is made clear from the accounts of Yuan Chwang and Itsing which make it clear that Valabhi was as famous a centre of Buddhist learning as Nālandā even by c. 675 A. D. The colophon of the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* being thus altogether unreliable, its alleged date cannot prove that the Vikrama

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era bore that name in Gujrat and Kathiawar as early as the 5th century. It was obviously added by a later copyist when Buddhism had become extinct in Kathiawar and the name of Vikrama had come to be associated with the era.

More important is the story of Kālakāchārya on the evidence of which some western scholars also like Konow have assumed that the Vikrama era was founded by a king of that name in c. 57 B. C¹. Let us, therefore, analyse and evaluate this evidence very carefully and dispassionately.

The story tells us that in ancient times there was a king named Vairisimha at Dhārā. He had a son named Kālaka and a daughter named Sarasvatī, both of whom renounced the world before marriage. In the course of time Kālaka became the head of his *Gaṇa*. Once he visited Ujjayinī in the course of his wanderings along with his sister, Sarasvatī, who was abducted there by King Gardabhila ruling over that city. As no entreaties of Kālaka could induce Gardabhila to release his fair captive, he left the city burning with rage and vowing to bring down destruction upon the head of the vicious and lascivious king.

The story then goes on to narrate how Kālaka repaired to Sindh, then known as Śakakula and ruled by a Śaka emperor, known by the title Shāhānushāhi under whom there were 96 Śaka feudatories called Shāhis. Kālaka soon managed to become a confidant and advisor of one of them. In the course of time his patron fell in the bad book of his suzerain, to escape whose wrath he fled away overnight under the advice of Kālaka and eventually reached Kathiawar,

1. E. I., XIV, Pp. 293-5.

where he soon managed to carve out a small principality. Other Śaka feudatories followed him and did the same.

Later on the Śaka friend of Kālaka attacked Ujjayinī and succeeded in defeating king Gardabhila following the clue supplied by Kālaka. As a consequence Sarasvatī, the imprisoned sister of Kālaka, was immediately restored to freedom. Thus Kālaka fulfilled his vow to bring about the release of his sister and the downfall of her captor.

The story then goes on to describe how Kālaka then went to Paiṭhan and Broach and converted their rulers to Jainism, but before describing his subsequent career, it introduces the following verses by way of *obiter dicta*:—

शकानां वंशमुच्छेद्य कालेन कियतापि हि ।
 राजा श्रीविक्रमादित्यः सार्वभौमोपमोऽभवत् ॥९०॥
 स चोन्नतमहासिद्धिः सौवर्णपुरुषोदयात् ।
 मेदिनीमनूणां कृत्वाचीकरद्वत्सरं निजम् ॥९१॥
 ततो वर्षशते पञ्चत्रिंशता साधिके पुनः ।
 तस्य राज्ञोऽन्वयं हत्वा चत्सरः स्थापितः शकैः ॥९२॥

These verses tell us that the Śaka rule at Ujjayinī did not last long, for their power was overthrown by the emperor Vikramāditya, who founded an era of his own. 135 years after the founding of this era, the descendants of Vikramāditya were overthrown by the Śakas, who then founded an era of their own known as Śaka era.

Let us see whether we can accept the historicity of Vikrama as the founder of the era on the strength of this Jain story. It must be admitted that its main account seems to be substantially true. Purāṇas also refer to a Gardabhila dynasty ruling at Ujjayinī. Sindh was under the rule of the Śakas in the first century B. C. Their kings were known as Shāhis and emperor

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as Shāhānushāhi, as the story states. The country was also known as Śakakula. The subsequent extension of the Śaka power to Kathiawar is also historically probable. It seems that Ujjayinī very probably did pass under the Śaka rule in c. 60 B. C., and that the foreigners were soon expelled by an indigenous ruler. There is nothing improbable in Vikramāditya being that Indian king and in his having founded an era to commemorate that event.

The story of Kālaka has been handed down to us in several Sanskrit and Prakrit recensions. Had any of them been as old as the 3rd or 4th century A. D., the historicity of the King Vikrama of Ujjayinī as the founder of the era would have been conclusively established. As it is, since the earliest version makes Kālaka a son of king Vairisimha of Dhārā, it is clear that it is not much earlier than the 11th century A. D. The same conclusion is indicated by the mention in the story of king Śālivāhana of Pratishṭhāna, to whose court Kālaka repaired after the overthrow of Gardabhila. No inscriptions or works of the first ten centuries of the Christian era mention any king of Pratishṭhāna known as Śālivāhana. It is thus clear that the earliest version of the story goes back only to the 11th century when the name of Vikrama had been already associated with the era. There was a mass of floating legends gathered round the names of Kālaka at that time, and when it was put into writing in the 11th or the 12th century, the anonymous writer or writers took an opportunity to mention the current theories about the origin of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras, just after the description of the overthrow of Gardabhila. The earliest anonymous text of the story expressly states that the verses about the Vikrama

and Śaka eras are *obiter dicta*,—*evam pāsāṅgiyam samakhāyam*. There is no evidence whatsoever to show that they go back to the 2nd or the 3rd century A. D., and so we can regard them merely as embodying the current belief of the 11th century, when it was well known that the Śaka era was started 135 years after the Vikrama era, and the latter was believed to have been founded by a king named Vikrama.

It is interesting to note in this connection that there is another group of Prakrit verses that are often quoted in a number of Jain *Paṭṭāvalis*, which give the reign periods of a number of rulers from king Pālaka to Gardabhila. They are following :—

जं रयाणि कालगओ अरिहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयाणि अवणिपई अहिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥ १ ॥
सट्ठी पालयरणो पणवणसयं तु होइ नंदाणं ।
अट्ठसयं मुरियाणं तीस च्चिअ पूसमित्तस्स ॥ २ ॥
बलमित्तभाणुमित्ता सट्ठी वरिसाणि चत्त नह्वाणो ।
तह गह्मिल्लरज्जं तेरस वरिसं सगस्स चऊ ॥ ३ ॥

These verses¹ confirm the tradition of the Kālaka story of king Gardabhila of Ujjayinī being defeated by the Śakas in c. 60 B. C., but they are silent about the founding of any era after the overthrow of the short Śaka rule. These verses also do not occur in any part of the Jain canonical literature and so cannot be earlier than the council of Valabhi (c. 450 A. D.). They, however, appear to be earlier than the earliest version of the Kālaka story, and it is interesting to note that they do not state anything about a successor or son of Gardabhila having founded an era known in contemporary times as the Vikrama era.

1. *Paṭṭāvalisamuchchaya*, Part I, P. 46.

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My own view is that the Jain tradition undoubtedly contains considerable elements of historical truth. We can assume on its strength that Ujjayinī was invaded by a Śaka King from Sindh in c. 70 B.C., who managed to hold the city for a few years, and that he was soon expelled by a Hindu leader or ruler, who founded an era to commemorate the event. But there is so far no evidence to show that he was known in contemporary times by the *biruda* of Vikramāditya. Had he assumed this title, would not his era have been also known in early times as the Vikrama era? Why should it have been known as Kṛita era as early as the 3rd century A. D.?

I think it is but reasonable to assume that the known earlier names of the era would give us a clue to its origin. Expressions like *Mālavagaṇasthitivaśāt*, *Mālavānām gaṇasthityā*, etc., make it clear that the era was connected with the Mālava constitution, tribe or republic. It could not, therefore, have been founded by non-Mālavas and we may well accept the Jain tradition that it was connected with Ujjayinī, which had become a stronghold of the Mālavas in the first century B. C. The expression in the Mandasore inscription, dated 461 V.E., *Śrī Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛitasamjñite* further shows that though the era was current in Mālava republic and therefore known also as Mālava era, its proper name (*samjñā*) was Kṛita. Passages nos. 6-11 quoted above (P. 5) also make this quite clear; they are the earliest references to the era known so far, and they call it invariably as Kṛita era, and never as Vikrama era.

What conclusion can we draw from this earliest name of the era about its founder? Unfortunately the name is rather mysterious and various explanations are

offered about it. But the theory of M. M. Hara Prasad Sastri¹ that it denotes the first year of a cycle of four years can no longer stand in view of the dates of the Barnala, Badva and Nandsa records, viz. Kṛita era 335, 295 and 282 respectively. It is sometimes argued that the era was called *Kṛita* because it was an artificial creation of astronomers; there is, however, no evidence whatever to support this conjecture. The view that the era was called Kṛita because people really believed that the real *Kṛita Yuga* had then been ushered in has also hardly any authority in its support². If as late as 415 A. D. people believed that the 461st year of the *Kṛita Yuga* was current, is it possible that the Purāṇas which were being composed at that time would have expatiated on the evils of the Kali age, which they regarded as current at that time ?

I think that it is but reasonable to conclude that the era was called Kṛita era because it was founded by a king, general or president named Kṛita. The eras founded by Chhatrapati Śivāji and king Harsha were known as Chhatrapati and Harsha eras; the eras founded by the Guptas and the Śakas were known as Gupta and Śaka eras; is it then unreasonable to suppose that the Kṛita era was so named because it was founded by Kṛita ? Nor can it be argued that Kṛita as a proper personal name is unknown. It is true that it is not commonly met with during the last 1500 years or so; but a glance at the early literature shows that once it was quite common. The name of one of the four sons of Viśvedeva was Kṛita; Hiraṇyanābha of the Upanishadic period had a pupil of that name; the father of Uparichara and a son of Devakī both bore this name. So, though

¹ E. I., XII, P. 320.

² Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in I. A., LXI, Pp. 101-3.

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Kṛita is no doubt a rather unusual name in the later period, such was not at all the case in earlier times. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the theory that the era of 57 B. C. was originally called Kṛita, simply because Kṛita was its founder.

Though there is yet no direct evidence to support the conjecture, it is but reasonable to assume that Kṛita was the name of the general or the president of the Mālava republic, responsible for the expulsion of the Śakas from Ujjayinī. At this time the main stronghold of the Mālava republic was Central Rajputana (Udaipur-Ajmer-Tonk territory) rather than Malwa; it appears that the Mālavas extended their sway southwards to the modern province of Malwa when they expelled the Śakas from Ujjayinī. The conquest of this famous city and the expulsion of the Śakas from it was celebrated by the starting of an era known after their successful general or president Kṛita. It is quite possible that this Mālava hero may have had the *biruda* of Vikramāditya, but there is yet no evidence forthcoming to show that such was the case. At any rate, the era started to commemorate his victory was known as Kṛita for its first three or four centuries. Later the memory of the achievements of Kṛita became dim, and because the era was current chiefly among the Mālavas, it began to be popularly described as Mālava era. Down to the 8th and 9th centuries, it was current only in Malwa and Central Rajputana, which were the stronghold of the Mālava power. Later on when it began to spread to Bundelkhand, U. P., Gujrat and Kathiawar, the name Mālava era fell into desuetude and the name Vikrama era began to become gradually popular.

It is not yet possible to account for this change in the name of the era. The Mālavas, as a great power,

had disappeared from the face of the country at this time and the era had spread much beyond the confines of the province of Malwa. It is therefore quite possible that people outside Malwa, who were using this era, may have begun to feel the necessity of giving it a new name, less narrow and more general in its association and appeal. It was felt by a section of people that this purpose would be served if the era was renamed after Vikramāditya, which was the *biruda* of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, whose fame as donor and patron of letters was still ringing in the country. He had also defeated the Śakas of Ujjayinī as was done by the original founder of the era. The Gupta era was also going out of vogue at this time. Some people therefore felt that if the Mālava era was rechristened as Vikrama era, it would have a wider appeal and also result in memorising another exterminator of the Śakas. The name, however, did not become common all at once; out of the 52 references to this era during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries only three give it the name of Vikrama. During the next two centuries it began to become more popular, but only in western India; for it is only in the records of the Chālukyas of Gujrat that the name became common in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is conspicuous by its absence in the numerous grants of the Gahadvalas of U. P., where the year continues to be described simply as Saṁvat. At the advent of the Muslim rule the name Vikrama era had become popular only in Gujrat and a part of Rajputana. It became current later on in other provinces mainly because it was accepted by the astronomers in their almanacs.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the origin of the Vikrama era is still an unsolved mystery.

THE RIDDLE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA

Those who hold that it was founded by king Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. cannot explain why it should not have been named after him but called Kṛita era during its earliest centuries. My theory suggested in this paper that it was started by a Mālava king, general or president named Kṛita can become generally acceptable only if we get evidence to show that there was a leader among the Mālavas who bore this name. If inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries of this era are discovered, giving it the name of Kṛita, then also my theory will become more convincing. If, on the other hand, we get new inscriptions or literary references of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. giving Vikrama as the name of the era, then the traditional view will be proved to be the correct one. The present writer, however, thinks this to be extremely improbable. It is almost certain that further discoveries will show that Kṛita was the name of the era even during its 2nd and 1st centuries and that it was founded to commemorate the achievement of a Mālava hero of that name in ousting the Śakas from Ujjayinī and Rajputana.

There is nothing inappropriate in the Vikrama celebrations that we are having. The controversy is only about the personal name of the hero who founded the era. It is clearly proved that the era was started in c. 57 B. C. and marks a great national achievement consisting of the expulsion of foreigners from Ujjayinī, which was a cultural centre of the country. There is nothing improbable in this tradition which depicts this deliverer as an ideal ruler. Let him serve as the beacon light to guide us to the successful accomplishment of our national regeneration.

AESTHETICS OF KALIDĀSA

By

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What were the standards by which Kālidāsa, the greatest classical Sanskrit poet, judged and appreciated beauty? What did he understand to be beautiful? We read his great works and we find them beautiful. What do we mean when we say that they are beautiful? We must have our own conception of beauty and then alone we may try to find out what are other people's ideas on the subject. When we judge beauty, when we appreciate the beautiful, we must mean that we do so objectively; otherwise, we do not judge, but we simply pronounce an opinion for what it is worth. An object must have some beauty before we can appreciate it. If beauty is a feeling, the whole subject of aesthetics is reduced to an impossible position. Writers have been known who have pronounced the Taj Mahal at Agra to be devoid of beauty since it was built by forced labour. Men are often found who will say that a particular woman is not at all beautiful because she does not respond to their advances. Thus will it be seen that mere personal feeling is no criterion whether a thing is beautiful or not. In fact, personal feeling may often affect our judgement and may blind us to even obvious facts. We start,

therefore, in discussing this subject, with the proposition that beauty is objective. We may further say, if we like, that a certain kind of mental equipment is essential in order to understand beauty, and that the possession of such equipment should not be confused with personal feeling which often amounts to a prepossession or to a prejudice. We need not enter further into the field of theoretical aesthetics, and may proceed straight to the works of the great poet whose ideas about the appreciation of beauty we propose here to investigate and study.

Perhaps it may be convenient to have a look at the first two lines in the *Mahākāvya Raghuvamśa*:—

वागर्थविब संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

“For the purpose of understanding the word and its meaning, I salute Pārvatī and Parameśvara, the parents of the Universe, who are blended into each other like the word and its meaning”.

The poet here gives us his conception of poetry. The word and its meaning cannot be separated from each other—there should be in a poem words that are significant, that have a meaning that attracts the reader, that delights him, that has special charm. Ordinary words with ordinary meaning, or sometimes with no meaning, or with no clear meaning, such as happens in the case of millions of ordinary people when they talk, do not make poetry. If they could, all talk in the world would be poetical. In the same way, meaning conveyed by unsuitable words does not make poetry. Specific meanings are better conveyed by a skilful use of words and this skill is a special possession of a great poet. The words must be full of meaning, the specific

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meaning which the poet is anxious to convey to his reader, and thus it is laid down that the word and the meaning must be blended with each other as that ideal couple, Pārvatī and Parameśvara. In the fourteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, the poet, by the use of a specific word, one word only, has conveyed a meaning that would have taken some sentences to be adequately conveyed. Sītā, in giving a message to Rāma, after she was abandoned by him, says to her brother-in-law, Lakshmaṇa, who performed the unpleasant duty of taking her away from her home,—Sītā says—“On my behalf, say this to the King”. She does not say, “Say this to Rāma”. Her beloved Rāma was no longer there. There was a king sitting in judgement on herself and a king had abandoned her, in performing his duty as a king towards his people. And Sītā sends a message to that king. The word Rāma would have suited the metre just as well. But a specific meaning had to be conveyed with the most rigid economy of words—great poets observe great economy in the use of their words—and the whole meaning, poignant as it was, was conveyed by that one word “King”. The perfect union of Pārvatī and Parameśvara is well known and to refer to it is ordinarily using a good comparison. But here in this little verse, again, much more is meant than the ordinary meaning which is apparent. Those who have studied the *Kumārasambhava*, another great Mahākāvya of the poet, know that. Parameśvara was knowledge, power, penance, complete self-control, light, strength; and Pārvatī was beauty, delight, wonder, excitement, intoxication. The beauty of Pārvatī was something wonderful, extraordinary. Says the poet:—“The Creator wished, as it were, to see infinite beauty concentrated in one place, and so he created Pārvatī by taking together all the

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materials intended to be similes, and utilising them with appropriateness.”

This again makes it clear that the Creator wished to see beauty in an object and therefore he created that object. If beauty could be subjective, there was no need of a new creation. An object would be beautiful simply because you thought it to be so. But, no; the Creator knew the materials which, if properly combined, would create an object of beauty. So, in the stanza quoted earlier above, Pārvatī represents the beauty principle, the physical beauty, that is to say. Śiva, or as he is called here, Parameśvara, represents the power element which is not only physical, but much more than that, and much different from that, too. Thus, in this description, the beauty of mind and the beauty of body are both indicated, and their perfect union means the perfection of beauty. It was this beauty that appealed to Kālidāsa and it was the delineation of this beauty that has made his poetry beautiful and great. Pārvatī became a suitable consort for Śiva only when through penance and through renunciation she approached his level. It was only then that she became truly beautiful, it was only then that her beauty was complete and it was only then that she could conquer Śiva. The beautiful canto that describes the burning of the god of love indicates this great and wonderful principle that mere physical beauty—the word “mere” is stressed here—does not appeal to a person like Śiva, and to a great poet like Kālidāsa. The physical beauty was there and must be there, but beauty is not complete, not exquisite, unless the physical beauty derives its light and life from the inner soul. That is the great idea that Kālidāsa presents to us in his great Mahākāvya *Kumārasambhava*. Pārvatī tried in

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the first place to appeal to Śiva on the strength of her physical beauty which was indeed very great but she found that Śiva would not be tempted by that. Then, like a very wise girl that she was, she tried to find out what would appeal to a great man like Śiva and what it was that she lacked. And she knew that she had physical beauty that nature gave her but that she had not accumulated penance to make that beauty a real beauty, a beauty that great men admire and great poets sing about.

We might look at several persons and objects which Kālidāsa has described as beautiful, and from that we may be able to deduce his ideas about beauty and the beautiful. In the first canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* Pārvatī has been described as the very essence of beauty. We have already referred to one verse there. We may look at a few more verses in that canto. The poet says that when Pārvatī was born, "all the directions had cleared up, the wind was free of dust; there was first the sounding of the conch-shells and afterwards the falling of flowers (both from the heavens). And in this way her birth was the cause of happiness to all objects, animate or inanimate (movable or immovable)." In the *Raghuvamśa* a similar idea is expressed in describing the birth of Raghu. Says the poet:—"The directions cleared up and pleasant breezes wafted; the fire turned its flames to the right and accepted the offering; the moment Raghu was born, everything became a source of happiness." The first line, it will be seen, is almost identical in both the verses. The last line in the second verse is as follows:—"The birth of the like of him (Raghu) is for the prosperity of the people". Thus Kālidāsa appears to look upon the capacity of doing good to others as a part of what he considers to be beauti-

ful. Beauty is invariably lofty and could never be mean or oppressive. Beauty must bring happiness and happiness never comes in the wake of the ugly or the wrong. Beauty and vice cannot go together. We are aware that there are critics who insist that in trying to get at the concept of beauty there should be no confusion by bringing in the moral idea. But the moment we agree to look upon beauty as something not merely physical we have to see what are the other ingredients thereof. And in examining the concept of Kālidāsa, we have to accept what he says about the subject. One may, if one likes, differ from Kālidāsa, but one cannot say that Kālidāsa does not express a concept which he actually accepts. He does insist that goodness is a very important ingredient of beauty and when he says this, he does not neglect the physical part of it. But in judging beauty he is not, what may be described as, in place of a better word, a mere materialist. When Pārvatī was born, the poet adds, her father was both purified and adorned (तया स पूतश्च विभूषितश्च). Thus beauty is always "vibhūṣita", it brings adornment, but it must be also "pūta", i. e., it should bring purity, according to Kālidāsa.

Thus we notice that the description of the word and the meaning as closely united as Pārvatī and Parameśvara and that also the description about the father of Pārvatī being both adorned and purified by her birth connote an identical idea, viz., that beauty is not merely a physical concept, but that it is also a spiritual concept, that in it both the elements must be equally present and must be so completely blended that they could not be separated from each other. Beauty, to be the beauty that Kālidāsa worships, must be something not merely earthly, of the earth, but must have ele-

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ments in it that are above the earth. It must be above the ordinary, above the mere physical. Here the question arises, is the human level merely physical? That question need not frighten us. The ordinary human level is physical with a latent power to rise above it by proper effort and sufficient penance, self-sacrifice, whatever you call it; and beauty emerges, according to Kālidāsa, where this effort is being made and beauty is realised in its completeness where such effort has become successful. Poets do describe human beings and things that are about them. But they describe them in such a manner that something is seen by the reader, something exquisite, something extraordinary, that he had not seen, that he had not realised before he read the poet. By his idealism the poet brings to you a better world, a greater world, and by his realism he produces sympathy or antipathy in your mind about the objects and the situations which he wishes either to uphold, or to criticise as undesirable. The School which believes that all art is merely for fun will not find an adherent in Kālidāsa. He states in the early stanzas of the *Raghuvamśa* that he was moved to sing about the Raghus because their great qualities had come to his ears. It was not only art for art's sake, as the exponents of that School are apt to put it, it flowed from an appreciation of life and from a desire to better life, decidedly a higher and a greater aim than the desire to satisfy a momentary whim of the poet. When we talk of the physical plane, we neither exclude it nor condemn it, we only point out that there is a higher plane. We may draw upon more instances from the various writings of Kālidāsa to sustain the proposition that, according to Kālidāsa, beauty is not perfect, worthy to be sung by great poets, unless the physical charm is exquisitely blended with the spiritual

quality. We shall now proceed to cite some such instances.

In the superb drama of Śakuntalā, king Dushyanta comes across the most beautiful girl he has ever seen, and this is what he says :—"How could such beauty be possible among human beings (literally, among the females of human beings)? Lustres like the moon which are glittering with splendour do not arise out of the earth (but they arise in the heaven)." That is why we have said above that the beauty which Kālidāsa considers to be perfect must not be only of the earth. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the learned commentator of the drama, states, in commenting upon the words "human beings", that by "human" is meant excess of the earth-principle. All is earth, and ordinary beauty or what we ordinarily consider to be beauty is of the earth. The great poets, however, deal with real beauty or extraordinary beauty; according to them that alone is beauty. There must be the quality of being uncommon if there is to be beauty; something different, something exquisite, something much higher than the average. Such are the attributes of beauty that Kālidāsa considers to be essential. The king says, again, about Śakuntalā :—"Considering the power of the Creator and her body, she appears to me to be altogether a jewel-like woman". All this is a description of physical beauty. Even that, according to our poet, must be higher than the earth, above the earth. In describing Urvaśī, Purūravas also gives vent to similar sentiments. "Her body is", says Purūravas, "the ornament of ornaments, a special article of toilet among toilet things, and a standard of comparison even for standards of comparison". Thus beauty must be extraordinarily attractive, it must be good, it must be uncommon or extraordinary. We may

look at two verses of the *Meghadūta* to stress the point further. The first describes the beauty of the wife of the Yaksha and the last line in it points out the extraordinary quality of that beauty.

तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः ।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ॥

Roughly rendered into English, it would read :—"she is a young woman whose body is thin. She has pointed teeth (the pointedness of teeth indicates prosperity for the husband and long life for him, also). Her lower lip is red like the fully ripened *Bimba* fruit. Her middle is slender, her eyes are like those of the frightened deer, her navel is deep. She walks slowly owing to the weight of her hips; and owing to her breasts (which are very big) she is slightly bent. She is, as it were, the first feminine creation of the Creator (the commentator says that the first creation costs greatest effort and therefore it is the most beautiful creation)." Now all this is a description of the physical beauty in the approved fashion of eminent Sanskrit poets, and yet the last line makes the suggestion of Kālidāsa clear. Kālidāsa never denies physical beauty to those whom he describes as beautiful. He well understands human psychology and he, therefore, knows that even to draw your attention to the inner spiritual qualities there must be an attractive exterior. But even that exterior is so superbly charming that it suggests extraordinary spiritual qualities. The other verse which follows the above, after a short space, stresses the spiritual qualities of the woman whose physical attractiveness is so picturesquely described in the one we have noticed just now. The two taken together explain the

aesthetic viewpoint of Kālidāsa. The verse is as follows :—

उत्सङ्गो वा मलिनवसने सौम्य ! निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्गोत्राङ्गके विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
तन्त्रीमाद्रीं नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथञ्चिद्
भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥

Once more an attempt at a rough translation into English :—"Oh, gentle cloud," says the Yaksha, "She has put on her lap, covered by a soiled garment, a guitar and she wishes to sing a song composed in such a way that the sign of my name is in it. But tears flow from her eyes and the guitar has become wet. With her hand, she wipes out the water with great difficulty (and starts to sing), but again and again she forgets the musical notes she herself has composed (on account of her great grief at separation from me)". This description delineates the faithful wife in such a beautiful manner that we feel deep sympathy with her; and her physical beauty, which in the beginning excites admiration, being perfected by the inclusion of the great spiritual quality of the faithful lover and wife, commands our respect. Nothing could be a better description of a fine wife who is exceedingly beautiful as well. She has, apart from her wondrous beauty, a heart of gold. She is again a perfect blend of the attractive, the good and the uncommon. Such touches as "malina-vasane" and the whole of the last line are bound to move the heart of the reader who can appreciate poetry and who has an understanding of the principal elements built round family life in the Hindu civilisation, excellently described by Kālidāsa in his various poems. We may conclude, therefore, that the real and the ideal about an object, severally or jointly, constitute an appeal to the aesthetic sense of the poet. In the

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manner adopted so far we could look at a number of passages in the poetic world of Kālidāsa. In the fourth act of the *Śakuntala*, famous for its delineation of the character of Kaṇva, the foster-father of Śakuntalā, the old Rishi is described as full of human sentiment, in spite of his long penance and his complete self-control and he is shown human, or weak, but not in the wrong sense. That is to say that he could not overcome his love for his adopted and beloved daughter, though there was no attempt at satisfying any personal or bodily desire, as was the case with Viśvāmitra, the great sage, who carried on penance for sixty thousand years, but ultimately fell a victim to the charms of Menakā, a courtesan from the heaven sent by god Indra. This distinction between Viśvāmitra, who also fell a victim to a human weakness (to use the jargon of certain so-called psychologists of the modern times), and Kaṇva, who was affected by a great impulse of his heart, is no doubt a very subtle one; but it must be clearly understood, if we are to sift the pure from the morbid in human nature. Self-control is a virtue and self-control means the regulation of the Ego. Viśvāmitra did not regulate the ego, and so he fell a victim to its morbid demands, while there was no display of ego in the feelings of Kaṇva towards his adopted daughter, but it was all consideration for her. In the ultimate analysis, purely selfish behaviour is sin and doing good to others, in its widest sense, is merit. Morbidity is of the same species as sin while lofty sentiment is akin to merit. In describing Kaṇva, Kālidāsa holds up the mirror to a great soul who has no selfish purpose but whose heart is full of kindness and sympathy and love. Kaṇva was human in the sense that he had not become hard-hearted as some who profess to know

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philosophy and act upon it, are likely to become. That is why the fourth act of the *Śākuntala* is so delicious and full of pathos.

In the second canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, there is the beautiful story of how King Dilīpa, the founder of the Raghu dynasty, served the heavenly cow in order to obtain a son. He had agreed to look after the cow whose blessing would bring him a son, and he followed her wherever she went. One day, while following her in a dense forest, he just lost sight of her and was engrossed for a few moments in admiring the beauty of the nature around him. While he was so engrossed, he heard the wails of the cow who was attacked by a lion. The king immediately went there and wanted to kill the lion with his arrow. But the moment he took his bow and was going to draw it, his hand was paralysed, and he was unable to do anything to save the cow except to request the lion to take him instead of the cow. And then follows a conversation in which the lion (who could speak the human language) argues with him and tells him not to lose his precious life for the sake of a mere cow. The king replies that it was not a question of a mere cow, that she was an extraordinary cow, and that the main point was that he had undertaken as a matter of duty to look after the cow, and as he was a soldier he must put duty before everything else, and he offers himself to be devoured by the lion. There is a picturesque scene, the king bows before the lion and it appears that the latter would pounce upon him, but the scene is shifted at once, and the cow is there, not the lion; and the cow asks him to choose a gift from her and he prefers a son. And the gods in heaven who were watching the scene and who were deeply impressed with the king's noble behaviour threw flowers

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at him for his complete disregard of the self. Duty above everything else, even at the cost of one's life, is the principle and when the poet comes across a scene like that he feels that he has met a beautiful scene and he dedicates songs to it. These are concepts that can be cherished and practised by men and women who are at a level much higher than that of the ordinary human beings and everything seen on or above that level strikes one as beautiful, worthy of the songs of great poets, worthy of admiration and emulation. Kālidāsa invariably saw beauty in such scenes which he describes with deep appreciation and admiration. In fact, Kālidāsa has developed an ideology of the Hindu civilisation on the strength of such scenes, and his works are, on that account, a great mine of sociological idealism, and they form a fine study of Hindu culture.

Another incident of a somewhat similar type is in the fifth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. A pupil of the sage *Varatantu* goes to Raghu to ask for a gift of fourteen crores of rupees to be given to his *Guru* or teacher as the latter's *dakṣhiṇā* or fee for teaching the pupil fourteen varieties of knowledge. The king who had become penniless on account of his charitable disposition asked the youth to stay for the night and he promised to make him the payment in the morning. His people could not be taxed further, so he decided to invade Kubera, the lord of wealth, and to get the required amount from him. Kubera, probably a great Bania but no warrior, avoided the invasion by verily throwing down a small hill full of gold in front of Raghu's palace early in the morning, sufficiently before Raghu's departure. And then comes the wonderful scene. The king asks the Brahmin boy to take away the entire

hill and the youth replies :—"My need is only of fourteen crores. I do not want anything for myself. What am I to do with this mountain of gold?" The king said, :—"The hill has come for you. I do not need anything for myself (and this from a penniless king), so better take away the whole thing." This fight between two amazing men, a true king and a genuine Brahmin, would delight the heart of every true socialist, if such a being really existed. But, it may be observed, socialism would be wholly unnecessary if such kings and Brahmins dominated society. Here, again, the idea is that beauty, the quality of giving high poetic pleasure, consists in the negation of self, the absence of that egotism that has made the world unhappy. That is why the citizens of the king's capital, who were witnessing this spiritual battle between two selfless souls, were immensely impressed and both of them became objects of congratulation and admiration. These two, a beggar who did not ask for a penny more than what he had to pay and a king who wanted to give much more than what he was asked to give, were indeed a wonderful pair. But we must not forget that the writing of the *Raghuvamśa* was not merely intellectual gymnastics for Kālidāsa. He was inspired to write it by the lofty idealism of the Raghu kings. Their great qualities came to his ears and he was moved to write :

तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः ।

The poet gives a description in a few magnificent stanzas of the great qualities of the Raghu kings and his aesthetic sense is aroused by those great qualities. We cannot resist the temptation of quotation. Says the poet :—"The Raghu kings have given offerings to god Fire according to the rules laid down in the Śāstras;

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they have satisfied the mendicants by giving them what they desired; they have punished the offenders adequately; knowledge has come to them at the proper time; they stored wealth for the purpose of giving it to others; they spoke little but they spoke the truth; they made conquests (of countries, not for oppressing others but) for obtaining glory; they married for children (not for lust); in boyhood they obtained knowledge by study, during youth they went in for enjoyment, during old age they lived like hermits, and they gave up their bodies by means of *Yoga* (and did not die of disease)". Again, elsewhere, the poet says :—"The power of the king was for the purpose of warding off the fear of the oppressed, he became well-read in order to honour the learned; not only the wealth but all the qualities of the king were for the good of others". Such were the kings to whom Kālidāsa gives unstinted praise and sings songs. Kālidāsa gives praise to those who give up self and do good to others. This spiritual excellence, so well described in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, forms the very basis, as it were, of the aesthetics of Kālidāsa. In fact, the entire superstructure of idealism is based upon this grand conception of active selflessness, which means doing good to others, and beauty is not a whole entity, in the eyes of Kālidāsa, unless it includes this spiritual excellence.

This certainly does not mean that beauty has no physical element in it. All that is maintained is this that a thing to be perfectly beautiful must have spiritual excellence in it. Love is experienced by the physical beauty of a person but love becomes the divine sentiment of which great poets sing, only when it is not a momentary impulse but when it is a permanent fact, and this permanency is the spiritual side of it because

it is the spiritual qualities of the person that build it up. The whole story of princess Indumatī who was married to king Aja is illustrative of the point. It is introduced at the end of the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* and continues to the eighth canto in which her death and subsequent grief of her loving husband are described with a pathos which has excited universal admiration. Both Aja and Indumatī were uncommonly beautiful and they certainly appealed to each other, and the poet has described the beauty of both in an excellent manner. At the same time their great qualities were also prominent. On account of good family, beauty, youth and excellent qualities chief among which was modesty, Indumatī and Aja were very worthy of each other and their union was like the union of a jewel with gold. The virtue modesty is mentioned because it denotes that there is no undue egotism. And control over or absence of egotism is the very basis on which the structure of excellence is securely built. Also in the seventh canto, a battle between Aja and his rival princes is described and there we see that Aja is a fine soldier. A man who appeals to a fine girl could not be only physically attractive, he must have courage, valour, strength. Aja had all that. In the eighth canto, Aja is further described as a very able administrator, a dutiful son and a faithful husband. He is described as having inherited all the virtues of his great father Raghu. All the Raghu kings possessed spiritual excellence. Self-control was the principal indication thereof. Aja loved his wife intensely and the *Karuna Rasa* in the eighth canto flows from the spiritual excellence of that fine husband and superb lover. Aja wanted to die after the decease of his beloved wife, but he was a dutiful king and father. He

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lived just in order to look after his son till he came of age and took up the responsibility of government. In all this description of love and beauty, there is no forgetting of duty and there is the whole charm of the theme that Kālidāsa has taken for his poem. He would not sing to men and women who are less than dutiful, however beautiful they may be. While Kālidāsa is a master in describing personal feeling, *Bhāva*, he always upholds the gospel of duty above feeling. A similar description of Rāma and Sītā, similar in following the dictates of duty, will be found in the fourteenth canto which has a beauty all its own. Kālidāsa has evidently deep sympathy with Sītā in her abandonment by Rāma. He puts the following into the mouth of Vālmīki, the great sage and the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who gives shelter to Sītā. Says the great sage:—“Rāma has destroyed Rāvaṇa, the enemy of the three worlds, he keeps to his word, he is truthful, but he has suddenly (listening to mere gossip) become cross towards you (Sītā). I am very angry with the elder brother of Bharata”. But the poet is not unjust to Rāma. He condemns the king's action but appreciates why he was forced to take it. It was the conception of duty that forced Rāma to do it, though the poet does not seem to agree that the conception was right. But rightly or wrongly, Rāma believed that it was his duty and he did his duty.

The charm of Sītā also was not the charm only of a devoted wife (apart from her physical beauty) but she had the charm also of a self-respecting individual who would not tolerate injustice, even at the hands of her husband. Kālidāsa evidently does not uphold the slave-theory of the wife. This individualism of Sītā adds lustre to her fine picture and that lustre is

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the exclusive creation of Kālidāsa. Here is the picture of a faithful wife and also a self-respecting woman that may be accepted as a model by coming generations in which woman is expected to be free. Her estimate of values (as described by Kālidāsa) is so sane and correct; yet several poets in Sanskrit as well as in the vernaculars have, under the influence of the customs of the day, failed to appreciate it. Kālidāsa, almost alone among the poets of India, has the unique merit of bringing out a great Sītā who, though described about two thousand years ago, still looks like the woman of tomorrow. Her message to Rāma after her abandonment is pregnant with such sound wisdom and such delicious pathos that we see here the unique sight of a great poet handling a great situation. Kālidāsa is very particular about the dignity of his heroines and this dignity undoubtedly adds to their charm. His wonderful device of Śakuntalā being taken away by her heavenly mother, after her (Śakuntalā's) repudiation by the king, is an instance to the point. The *Apsaras* mother takes away her daughter and saves her from deep humiliation. Kālidāsa will never humiliate beauty (and in his case beauty always includes spiritual excellence) because according to him, it would appear, it would be an offence aesthetically. Such is his sound aesthetic sense. The same object is served in the case of Sītā whom Vālmiki welcomes to his hermitage like a father and Sītā is at once put at her ease and is saved from melodrama which would have developed in an alternative situation.

The point that to Kālidāsa beauty is not merely a physical concept has been, we feel, amply sustained. We might add a few instances and further strengthen it. Pārvatī in the *Kumārasambhava*, Śakuntalā in the great

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drama famous by her name, Sītā in the *Raghuvamśa* are among the beautiful women described by Kālidāsa. Pārvatī stands supreme among them because her penance reaches a surprising level, the level of that King of *Yogins*, Śaṅkara himself. The opening verse of the fifth canto is significant in this connection and in it a definition of beauty (चारुता) is given which is as original as it is sound. The verse also brings out the uselessness of mere physical charms and proves the necessity of having along with them true beauty by the accompaniment of spiritual excellence. When Pārvatī saw that her charms had no effect on Śiva, that, on the other hand, the great God burnt down the god of love, she deprecated charming looks, because they did not obtain for her the desired object. Beauty must give satisfaction to those whom we love. In the case of Pārvatī, that did not happen. Pārvatī was conscious that she was beautiful, but her beauty had no appeal to Śiva who, all-knowing that he was, certainly could judge beauty. Therefore the sensible girl concluded that her beauty lacked something, and it was, undoubtedly, the spiritual quality that she lacked. So she proceeded forthwith to acquire that by hard penance. That is the essence of the Kālidāsian theory of aesthetics. Pārvatī practised very hard penance. She was the daughter of the Himālayas and was very fair. On account of her penance, her exposure to the sun and the four fires in the four directions inflamed around her, she became very dark. She did not care and she carried on the penance to such an extent that the great sages in the forest looked upon her, though she was young in years, as their *Guru*. It was then and only then that Śaṅkara was moved, and decided to test her love for him, and she most satis-

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factorily passed in that test. The conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī has a delicate coating of humour. Śiva had come to her as a young Brahmin boy and he ridiculed Śiva most magnificently for the latter's bad looks (Śiva had a third eye on the forehead), for his poverty, for his queer followers, and so on. Pārvatī said, in a spirited reply, that the great alone appreciated the great and that the ignorant could not realise the greatness of Śiva. Śiva realised that Pārvatī was not only physically beautiful but that she had attained a spiritual level that was his own, and then he manifested his real self and told her that he had become her slave. Such is the wonderful love story of a very great man and an equally great woman who had the strength and the determination to acquire the spiritual beauty that made her a worthy consort to Śiva. It is this beauty that appeals to Kālidāsa, beauty that brings heaven to the earth and makes us forget the meannesses that live around us and teaches us that there is a higher level of existence to which we may all aspire. Kālidāsa has also described natural beauty. And there, too, the criterion is not different. When he sees anything majestic and noble and vast and great, he describes it as beautiful, as something that is extraordinary, that is on a higher level.

We may refer to a few instances of Kālidāsa's nature descriptions and bring this article to a close. In describing animate nature other than man, and inanimate nature, realism often brings a consciousness of beauty. Kālidāsa's description, in the last act of the *Śākuntala*, of the coming down from heaven of the king Dushyanta with the charioteer of Indra, is indeed marvellous; so is his description of trees and animals in the fourth act, so much admired from ge-

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neration to generation. The description of Śakuntalā in relation to her forest surroundings carries us to another world altogether. We have to remember, however, that that world did exist at one time, that it is largely realism, and not purely idealism. Kaṇva's invitation to all animate and inanimate nature, in and around his hermitage, to bid good-bye to Śakuntalā makes us forget our own surroundings and leads us in tune with that wonderful world of a Hindu culture that is past but that did once exist. The following description of Śakuntalā brings out her charm, the divine charm of a divinely beautiful girl: —

पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वपीतेषु या
नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम् ।
आद्य वः कुसुमप्रसूतिसमये यस्या भवत्युत्सवः
सेयं याति शकुन्तला पतिमूढं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥

For want of space, no translation is attempted. Here we witness the play of the aesthetic sense of the poet in its full glory. Not only beautiful Śakuntalā, but we, humdrum men and women of this humdrum world, feel very unhappy to leave the hermitage of Kaṇva, described for us by the fancy of Kālidāsa, the hermitage where calm and quiet rule, and where delight is not the absence or the reverse of pain, but is an actual, positive feeling, and we feel that to leave this place is to go out to meet our doom. When the little deer clung to her garment and would not allow her to proceed, Śakuntalā asked who it was and her father, in tears himself at the parting from his adopted but beloved daughter, says:—

यस्य त्वया व्रणविरोपणमिड्गुदीनां
तैलं न्यषिच्यत मुखे कृशसूचिविद्धे ।
इयमाकमुष्टिपरिवर्धितको जहाति
सोऽयं न पुत्रकृतकः पदवीं मृगस्ते ॥

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And our eyes, too, become wet, and, not unlike that deer, we too feel like asking Śakuntalā to stay where she was and not to venture out.

There are many passages of natural description in the various works of Kālidāsa where the poet makes us aesthetically aware, and the basis of his appreciation of beauty, in this province of nature, is majesty and what may be called an inner excellence actually inherent in an object or fancifully transferred to it. The bringing together all those passages and their appropriate arrangement will shed further light on the theory that Kālidāsa, in appreciating the beauty in an object, does not take into account only the physical aspects but also what may be called the spiritual aspects, too. And if we carefully look into the great works of other great poets, of all climes and of all times, we are likely to find support to that theory. Above all, Kālidāsa sees an object and finds beauty in it; he does not impose beauty merely for subjective purposes. The beauty that he describes is not his own whim, he seeks beautiful objects in order to sing to them. The mighty Himālayas, the great river Bhāgīrathī, heroes like Aja and Rāma, powerful men like Śiva, great women like Sītā and Pārvatī, stories that tell of high valour and lofty behaviour, situations where man overpowers his circumstances and his own weak nature and rises above himself,—these strike him as beautiful and with his wonderful powers as one of the greatest among the world's poets, he sings about them in words that are as sweet as the ripe grapes and in a style that itself is a manifestation of beauty. He shows a world of beauty; and when we get sick of the world in which we live, when the miseries and uglinesses of our own life gradually drive us down towards pessimism,

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through good luck and perhaps through good habits of reading, we turn to this great master and from his unique works get courage and strength. After all, great poetry is that that makes you great when meanness appears to be enveloping you. It takes us above the ordinary level, though it may describe any level that the poet chooses for it. There is beauty in this world, but we, ordinary mortals, cannot often see it. The magic touch of a poet's hand reveals it. That is why some people are misled into thinking that beauty is subjective. The truth is that the poet discovers it and reveals it. That means that it exists in the objects which the poet describes as beautiful. And here we part from this great jewel of a poet whose wonderful works are among the richest possessions of India and of the Hindu culture.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALA ITS DRAMATIC SETTING

By

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When a dramatist of the calibre of Kālidāsa decides to give a dramatic setting to a story like that of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā as given in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (B. O. R. I. edition, Chapters 62-69), he first of all tries to find out what additions and alterations in the original story will be needed to bring out the basic idea or the innermost meaning of the story as he himself conceives it. The Heroine is, according to the original story, the daughter of a flighty Apsaras; but she is also the daughter of sage Viśvāmitra well-known for his fierce austerity and unbending spirit, and is above all going to be the mother of the great Bharata whom the ancient Brāhmaṇa texts have so lavishly praised (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 23) and after whom our Bhāratavarsha gets its name. So Kālidāsa disapproves of the over-hasty manner in which Śakuntalā—even without waiting for the return of father Kaṇva from the forest where he had gone to fetch fruits (*Mbh.* i. 65. 9)—settles her Gāndharva marriage, as well as the undignified manner in which Dushyanta, after

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uttering those harsh words about Menakā and Visvāmitra (*Mbh.* i. 68. 73-74), accepts Śakuntalā on the testimony of the "voice from Heaven" and adds that he had all along recognised her, but behaved as he did to avoid public scandal (*Mbh.* i. 69. 41). So, to bring Śakuntalā's maidenly modesty in greater relief, Kālidāsa has created the two female companions of Śakuntalā, who, rather than the Heroine herself as in the Epic, relate to Dushyanta how Śakuntalā's mother Menakā captivated, with the Spring just setting in (*Vasantodārasamae*), the heart of the Royal sage Visvāmitra and frustrated his long and fierce austerities. It is worth noting that to give room for Śakuntalā's own conquest of the heart of another Royal sage, Kālidāsa makes the Play proper begin at a time when the Summer had just set in, affording fullest scope to Love's dalliance.

Kālidāsa felt that what was deficient in the Heroine's inheritance on the maternal side needed to be effectively remedied. The vicarious penance (*daivam asyāḥ pratikūlam śamayitum*) for the performance of which father Kaṇva, we are told, had left the Āśrama at the commencement of the Play, while it affords a longer period for the passion between the lovers to grow and evolve, is also designed to emphasise this underlying ethico-psychological motivation. But the correct method for it lay through the ordeal of suffering, penance and penitence by the parties themselves. So we find Śakuntalā described in the concluding Act as *niyamakshāmamukhī* and Dushyanta as *paśchāttāpavī-varṇa*. To bring this about and to save the characters of the Hero and the Heroine Kālidāsa has introduced the story of the curse of Durvāsas.

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Durvāsas, the Epic tells us, is a friend of sage Kaṇva and a frequent visitor of the Āśrama. That he would, upon a flimsy pretext, fly into rage and ruthlessly curse his friend's foster-child is unthinkable. In fact, under a rough exterior, he is known to be a disguised benefactor of humanity. His visit to the Āśrama is a sign that Kaṇva's vicarious penance has proved fruitful. For, in place of a perpetual separation from her wedded Lord, it is a separation terminating with the sight of the token-ring (aṅgulidaśanāvasāna) that Śakuntalā has to undergo. That the suffering has truly chastened both Śakuntalā and Dushyanta we can clearly see from the following elements of contrast that the Poet has deliberately introduced to mark the conduct of the Hero and the Heroine before and after the calamity.

Dushyanta, for one thing, has now lost the proud self-assurance in his own rectitude and infallibility as evidenced in his words in Act i like :

Asaṁśayam Kshatraparigrahakshamā
Yad āryam asyām abhilāshi me manaḥ /
Satām hi saṁdehapadeshu vastushu
Pramāṇam antaḥkaraṇapravṛttayaḥ //

or, in Act ii like :

Na parihārye vastuni Pauravāṇām manaḥ
pravartate;

or, in Act v like :

Bhadre, prathitam Dushyantasya charitam;
tathāpi idam na lakshyate;

when we compare them with sentiments in Act vi like :

Ahanyahany ātmana eva tāvaj
Jñātum pramādaskhalitam na śakyam.

We see also that his early hopeful outlook on life has all disappeared. His right arm throbbed as he entered

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the hermitage in Act i. He could not divine the cause, but observes nevertheless in the mood of confident hopefulness :

Atha vā bhavitavyānām dvārāṇi bhavanti
sarvatra.

His right arm throbs once more as he enters Mārīcha's hermitage in Act vii. Not a ray of hope remains with him as he ejaculates :

Manorathāya nāsamse kim bāho spandase vṛithā.

In Act i he wanted to ascertain the parentage of Śakuntalā, and without any real valid ground he jumps to the conclusion that she must be "Kshatraparigraha-kshamā" because he wants her to be so. In Act vii he wants to ascertain the parentage of the boy Sarva-damana. Proofs sufficient to establish his identity come pouring in, but he still hesitates to draw the inevitable conclusion and asks :

Bhavatībhyām kadāchid asyāḥ pratyakshīkṛitā
vikṛitih.

We often see the whole man in his most involuntary expressions and movements. We need not therefore any longer doubt that suffering has chastened Dushyanta.

The same is the case with Śakuntalā. In the earlier parts of the Play things had prospered with her quite well. Her friends encourage her in her passion. King Dushyanta requites her love and promises to install her as the mother of the would-be heir-apparent. Even father Kaṇva whose anger they so much dreaded pronounces his blessing. The day she is leaving the hermitage there are the auspicious presents of the Āśrama trees and her father's most welcome "vara"—

Sutam tvam api samrājam seva Pūrum
avāpnuhi.

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As she is about to enter the precincts of Dushyanta's capital she makes it a point to render her homage to the neighbouring Śachīrītha. Śachī is the Deity of marriage ; and did not Śakuntalā hope, ere long, to be, like Śachī, blessed with a great son ? In weaving up all these day-dreams, she, poor creature, loses the ring ; and yet when her right eye throbs as she is conducted into Dushyanta's presence, she hopefully says :

Hiaa, kiṃ evvaṃ vepasi ? Ajjauttassa bhāvam
ohāria dhīraṃ dāva hohi.

The blow that dashes all her hopes was as unexpected as it was cruel. The mainstay of her hope was Dushyanta ; and he, as Śakuntalā—interpreting the purely accidental and unintended *double entente* of his words (*italics* ours) :

Strīṇāṃ aśikshitapaṭutvam *amānushīshu*
Saṃdṛīsyate kiṃ uta yāḥ pratibodhavyaḥ /
Prāḡ *antarikshagamanāt* svam apatyajātam

Anyair *dvijaiḥ* parabhrītaḥ khalu poshayanti //—
too late discovers, not only inwardly recognises her, but delights in insulting her mother and repudiating the imputed marriage under the assumed cloak of righteousness. No wonder that for the moment Śakuntalā loses her self-control and sends back a stinging reply to the King worthy of sage Viśvāmitra's daughter :*

Tumhe yyevva paṇāṇaṃ jāṇatha dhammatthi-
tiṃ cha loassa /

Lajjāviñijjidaṃ jāṇanti hu kiṃ ṇa mahilāo //

* The reply is unaccountably omitted in all printed editions. Unto men like Dushyanta who want to arrogate all righteousness to themselves and presume to pass judgements upon womankind, Śakuntalā in effect asks whether men alone have the monopoly of right thinking and whether women—modest women with downcast looks—have not the right to judge for themselves. No modern champion of the rights of women could have desired anything better.

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But her struggle is in vain. In his classic fight with Brahmarshi Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra had learnt the lesson of the superiority of patient and forgiving virtue. The same was the lesson that it fell now to Viśvāmitra's daughter to learn. Upabhoga, enjoyment, that was for her, earlier in life, the keynote to happiness as evidenced by her words in Act i—

Halā, ramaṇīe kkhu kālē imassa pādavamihun-
ṇassa vaiaro saṁvutto : Navakusumajovvaṇā
Vañajosiṇī, baddhaphaladāe uabhoakkhamo
Sahaāro—

ceases to be her ideal any longer; for she was now passing her days in a different kind of hermitage where, Kālidāsa wants us particularly to note,

Yat kāṅkshanti tapobhir anyamunayas
tasmiṁs tapasyanty amī.

It is in keeping with this new spirit that she accepts the proffered apology of Dushyanta and does not demand explanations. It is thus evident that both the Hero and the Heroine have been chastened by suffering and so rendered more truly worthy of each other.

With this exalted conception of the central thought and the inner meaning of the Play, Kālidāsa is next throwing his "Kathāvastu" into appropriate Acts. The background of the earlier Acts is marked by a deeply sensuous colouring. The central note is struck by the Sūtradhāra with his words :

Nanv imam eva tāvan nātichirapravṛttam upa-
bhogakshamam Grīshmasamayam adhikṛitya
giyatām.

This is emphasised by Śakuntalā's conception of an ideally happy marriage, which has been already quoted above. Equally sensuous is, at this stage, Dushyanta's

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outlook on life, as evidenced by the way he envies the lot of the bee :

Chalāpāṅgām dṛiṣṭīm spṛisasi bahuśo vepathu-
matīm

.....

Vayam tattvānveshān madhukara hatās tvam
khalu kṛitī.

In Act ii, and still more in Act v and the following Interlude, the atmosphere gets worse and worse. It is not only sensuousness but sordid self-seeking that we encounter through characters like the epicure Vidūshaka, the time-server Senāpati, the soulless Śyāla, the lascivious Pratīhārī and the jealous Vasumatī. For the concluding Act where the Hero and the Heroine are reconciled, as already remarked, Kālidāsa has most artistically changed the background altogether.

Now in the First Act Kālidāsa presents us with an idyllic picture of the simple and guileless life of Kaṇva's hermitage which quite captivates the heart of Dushyanta, who, as the representative of another ideal, may be said to have invaded the Āśrama very much like the infuriated elephant that the Poet has designedly introduced towards the end of it, crushing many a creeper under his feet and menacing the prevailing peaceful atmosphere :

Mūrto vighnas tapasā iva naḥ.....

What is the result of this conflict of ideals ? Only this. The Āśrama which was at first a home of peace and happiness, of mirth and merriment, of simplicity and service, is converted into a scene of grief and lament :

Uggalidadabbhakavalā miā parichchattanach-
chanā morā /

Osariapaṇḍupattā muanti assū via ladāo //

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The picture of Dushyanta's life at Court the poet has described in sufficient details. It is, briefly characterised, a life of low, self-contented worldliness of which the only relieving feature is Dushyanta's attempt to keep above the mire and maintain the ideal of kingly duty and decorum. And he too needs to be buoyed up by the Vaitālika now and then reminding him of his ideal. Anyhow those whose lot was cast into this atmosphere were all in their own estimation happy beyond measure. They had their music and dance and low scandal and cared not to change for any other mode of life. Into such an atmosphere the Poet introduces Śārṅgarava, Śāradvata and other members of Śakuntalā's party. The utter contempt of these latter for the prevailing worldliness of the atmosphere is well brought out by the words of the young ascetics :

Janākīṇam manye hutavahaparītam gṛīham iva.

There again ensues a conflict of ideals. And now whereas, in Act i, Dushyanta, the representative of the lower ideal, was bid sincerely welcome, here Śakuntalā, the representative of the higher ideal, is treated with disrespect and as good as turned out of doors. And what is the ultimate result? Grief and bitter lament such as we notice in Act vi. The two ideals were in themselves incompatible and could not live happily together until there is in them a radical change and readjustment.

It is possible to understand and interpret these facts also from a slightly different point of view. As already remarked, Act i is placed in early spring-time with its ideal of unrestrained enjoyment, and it culminates in sheer grief and sorrow. The same spring-time is also the time chosen for the action of Act vi. But "Upabhoga" is here by design tabooed, and Saṁnyāsa

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or abnegation of enjoyments is by force imposed upon all and sundry. But the way to peace and happiness lies neither through unhindered enjoyment :

Na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām upabhogena śamyati ;
nor through enforced abnegation :

Karmendriyāṇi samyamya ya āste manasā
smaran /

Indriyārthān vimūḍhātmā mithyāchāras sa
uchyate //

For true blessedness what is needed is the Karmayoga of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* with its emphasis on the renunciation of fruit-hankering. This, as already observed, is the philosophy preached and followed in the hermitage of Mārīcha.

It will be evident from the above discussion how great skill is required, even after the settling of the general outline of the plot of a drama, to distribute the story proper over the different Acts and to assign appropriate time, place, and atmosphere for the events that are to fall within each successive Act. In the present essay I shall just find room for one other detail which remarkably illustrates the minute care with which Kālidāsa settled the order of events comprised within an Act and their respective topography. Lengthy and detailed stage-directions are generally regarded as the characteristics of the Modern Play. Without actually giving any such elaborate stage-directions, Kālidāsa seems to have realised the importance of fixing up and visualising his stage in accurate details with a view to producing the dramatic effects that he wished to produce.

I wish in this connection to draw the attention of students to the topographical details of Kāṇva's Āśrama in Act i and again in Act iv. In Act i we make

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acquaintance of the Āśrama from the point of view of a person coming from Dushyanta's capital towards the Āśrama. In Act iv the reverse is the case; for, it is Śakuntalā going from the Āśrama to Hastināpura. Consequently, what Dushyanta sees and describes first as he approaches the Āśrama would be seen and commented upon by Śakuntalā and her escorting party last in Act iv. This is exactly the case. The details can be more easily grasped in the following tabular form, where what is interesting to note is the use to which Kālidāsa has put each succeeding topographical detail in Act i and again in Act iv.

KĀLIDASA'S ABHIJÑĀNAŚAKUNTALA

Topography of Act One	Topography of Act Four
<p>—Forest proper, the Vanarāji where ascetics go to fetch Samidhs.</p> <p>—Outskirts of Tapovana (Āśra-mābhyarṇabhūmi) marked by:</p> <p>(i) Ground undulations (udghātinī bhūmi) hindering chariot-speed;</p> <p>(ii) Big and shady trees; (iii) Water-places (toyādhāra).</p> <p>—Water-canals (kulyā); trees dusky owing to sacrificial smoke; grazing ground for fawns and carrying does.</p> <p>—Compound-gate of the Penance-grove (Āśramadvāra)</p> <p>—Grotto of flowering trees; vṛkṣhavāṇikā or kusumapādapa-vithi, including the Kesara or Bakula tree.</p> <p>—The Vanajyotsnā with adjoining Sahakāra (mango) tree.</p> <p>—Other flowering creepers (gimhā-kālakusumadāṇḍo ladāo)</p> <p>—“Uṭajadvāram”.</p> <p>....</p> <p>....</p>	<p>—“Haddhī, haddhī; Antalīhidā Sauntalā vaṇarāie”</p> <p>(i) “Astunn alakshitanatonnata-bhūmibhāge” etc.;</p> <p>(ii) “Imām khiravṛikshachchhī-yām āśrayāmaḥ.”</p> <p>(iii) “Bhagavan, odakāntam snigdhajano'nugantavyah.”</p> <p>—“Esā uṭajapajjantachārīṇi gabbha-mantharā miavahū;” also Dīrghāpāṅga tucking at Śakuntalā's garment.</p> <p>—“Itah panthānam pratipadyasva”.</p> <p>—(N B —The “vanavāsabandhu” trees are all addressed together, earlier).</p> <p>—“Tāta, ladābahīṇiām Vaṇajosiṇīm dāva āmantaiṣsam”.</p> <p>—“Osariapaṇḍupattā muanti assū via ladāo”.</p> <p>—“Bhaginyās te mārgam ādeṣaya.”</p> <p>—Inside the Uṭaja; the Fire-altars.</p> <p>—Verandah around an inner courtyard, where Śakuntalā is having her “maṅgalasamāmbha-nam”.</p>

Incidentally this sequence justifies the order of the speeches in the First Act which I have elsewhere argued as being the original order, which the printed editions have wantonly changed.

VIKRAMA SAMVAT, ITS ORIGIN AND NOMENCLATURE IN DIFFERENT PERIODS

By

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The Vikrama Samvat or era of Vikramāditya is used all over Northern India, except in Bengal. "It is used" says Cunningham "also in Telingana and Gujarat.....This era is said to have been established by Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, to commemorate his victory over the Śakas." Let us however see what the inscriptions tell us about the nomenclature of the era.

The earliest date where the name of Vikrama is associated with the era is 898 from a Chāhumāna inscription at Dholpur. How the era was named in the centuries preceding it we shall see before long. But here what we have to note is how the era was known generally after the date 898. It was *Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kāla*, *Śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat*, *Vikrama-saṁvat* and so forth. But what is exactly meant by these expressions? The copper-plates of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II give a more detailed form of the expression. It is this: *Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-otpādita-saṁvatsara*, "the year (of the era) originated by the illustrious Vikramāditya".

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This agrees with the tradition mentioned by Cunningham that the era was established by Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, to commemorate his victory over the Śakas. But that was not the only tradition prevalent about the association of Vikrama with this era, because we meet with such expressions as *śrī-Vikramato gateshu, gateshv=abdeshu Vikramāt, Vikramārka-gate kāle*. The compounds of the Sanskrit language are however so elastic that these expressions may be interpreted in a different manner. Amitagati, the author of the *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁdoha*, however, places this matter beyond all doubt when he sets forth the date of this work as follows: *samārūḍhe pūta-tridaśa-vasatiṁ Vikramanripe*, “after king Vikrama has ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals”. There can thus be no doubt as to this era having been established to commemorate the passing away of the eponymous founder of the era. This is the second tradition that was current about the association of the name of Vikrama with this era. It was originated not by king Vikrama to signalise his victory over his enemies but rather to memorise the demise of that great hero. There is yet a third tradition about the origin of this era. The Dholpur inscription referred to above has: *Vasu-nav-āshtau-varshā-gatasya kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya*, “when the time called Vikrama had gone by, namely, the years 898”. This Kielhorn explains as follows. Autumn or *śarad* in India was pre-eminently the Vikrama-kāla or war-time. And it is only one step further that *Vikrama-kāla* should be connected with the year (*śarad*) itself, as that term has also the sense of the ‘year’. Afterwards, when the origin and the true meaning of the terms *Vikrama-kāla* and *Vikrama-year* had been forgotten, people interpreted these terms after the manner of

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their own age, and, Vikrama being a well-known name of famous kings, they naturally connected the era with a king of that name who would be supposed, either, like their own kings, to have counted the years from his accession or to have otherwise given occasion for the establishment of the era. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., it is strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards. Again, had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned many a time before V. E. 1050, the date of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-saṃdoha*. Besides, nothing has yet been brought to prove the existence of a king Vikramāditya, in the century preceding the birth of Christ. It is true that the late Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya and, following him, the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri have brought to our attention a verse from Hāla's *Gāthā-saptāśatī* (v. 64), which no doubt makes mention of Vikramāditya and refers to his munificent nature. But, as pointed out by me elsewhere, on internal evidence Hāla's *Saptāśatī* has been correctly assigned by Weber to the commencement of the 6th century A. D. The theory that the Vikrama era was in any way connected with a king called Vikramāditya must, therefore, be given up, because it is only in V. E. 1050 that we for the first time find his name associated with the era, in commemoration, again, not of his victory over the Mlechchhas but rather his exit from the world.

The theory that Vikramāditya was in any way connected with the Vikrama Samvat must, therefore, be given up. Let us now see by what name this era was known in the earlier inscriptions. In 1885 an inscription was discovered by J. F. Fleet at Mandasor in the

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Gwalior State. It contains two dates, the first of which is expressed as follows :

Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-chatuṣṭaye /
tri-navaty-adhike = bdānām.

His rendering of the verse is : “when by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed.”

Soon thereafter, another inscription from Mandasor was brought to light and published by Fleet, giving the date in the words :

Pañchasu śateshu śaradām yāteshv = ekān-na-
navati-sahiteshu /
Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt.....

The last phrase Fleet has translated by “from (the establishment of) the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas”, adding in a note that “it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning” for the word *vaśāt* in the passage. F. Kielhorn obviates this difficulty by taking the phrase to mean “by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas”. He thus makes *gaṇa* equivalent to *gaṇanā*, which is not at all objectionable, as was much later pointed out by Prof. K. M. Shembavanekar on the authority of the *Śabdārṇavakośa*.

In 1913 a third inscription was found at Mandasor. It was discovered by me during my touring season 1912-13 when I was in the Archaeological Department. The date of this record is set forth in the verse :

Śrī (r)-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte praśaste Kṛita-
samjñite /
Eka-shasṭy-adhike prāpte samā-śata-chatuṣ-
ṭaye //

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In this verse there are two expressions which are worthy of consideration. The first is *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte* which doubtless corresponds to *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* of the other two Mandasor inscriptions. The natural sense of *āmnāya* is *saṃpradāya* (=traditional usage), which corresponds to *sthiti* (=a settled rule or usage) of the other two Mandasor epigraphs. The second expression in this verse is *Kṛitasamjñite* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date. As the word *saṃjñita* shows, the year 461, which is the date, is itself intended to be called *Kṛita*. But, as indicated by *Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*, the date is clearly a year of the Vikrama era. Obviously, therefore, *Kṛita* appears to be the name of the years of the Vikrama era in the 5th century A. D. and earlier. I say 'earlier', because there were at least two instances of the use of the name *Kṛita* in inscriptions prior to (V. E.) 461, the date of the new Mandasor epigraph, but its real sense was not apprehended. They are the Bijaygaḍh stone pillar inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, and the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśvavarman. The date of the first runs thus: *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshv=ashtāvimśeshu* 400 20 8 etc. The second sets forth the date as follows: *Yāteshu chaturshu Kṛiteshu śateshu śau(m)yeshv=āśīta-sottara-padeshv=iha vatsareshu*. Fleet who has edited both these records translates the word *Kṛiteshu* by "fully completed", but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, with this meaning the word is made redundant by *yāteshu*, which is used along with it in the second inscription. But now that we know that *Kṛita* was the name of Vikrama samvat, the occurrence of this term in the Bijaygaḍh and Gaṅgdhār records becomes perfectly clear and intelligible.

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Many other early records of this era have been found since the publication of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. One was published by me and was found at Nagarī in the Udaipur State. It is dated Kṛita 481. We will refer to it later on as it is an important record. Two were found at Barṇālā in the Jaipur State, Rajputana, and were published by Prof. A. S. Altekar. One is dated Kṛita 284 and the other Kṛita 335. Three were discovered at Baḍvā in the Kotāh State and edited also by Prof. Altekar. These three are dated Kṛita 295. But the last and earliest was found at Nāndsā in the Udaipur State and is dated Kṛita 282. All these inscriptions except the first do not make any the slightest mention of the Mālavas. They record dates which are called simply Kṛita, showing clearly that this old name of Vikrama saṁvat was current as early as Kṛita 282=225 A. D. Two questions now arise. The first is why this era was known as Kṛita; and the second, why in some inscriptions it is associated with the Mālavas. We will take the second question first for consideration. The expressions in this connection are *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā*, *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* and *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte*. "*Vaśāt* at the end of a compound" says Kielhorn "ordinarily means 'in consequence of, according to, by means of, by'; in fact, it frequently takes simply the place of the termination of an instrumental case,....." He accordingly translates the first two of the above three phrases simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas". It had better be rendered by the settled mode of the reckoning of the people of the Mālava country". I have already pointed out that *gaṇa* has the sense of *gaṇanā*, 'computation, reckoning'. This interpretation, which is of a most reasonable character, clearly shows, in the

first place, that *gana* cannot here denote "the tribal oligarchy of the Mālavas" as taken by Fleet at the outset and even now by Prof. Altekar, and secondly that it points to a system of reckoning dates peculiar to the Mālavas, that is, the people of the Mālava country. This accords excellently with the date of the Nagarī inscription which I discovered in December 1915. It runs thus : *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śatcshu ekāśīty-uttareshv* = *asyām Mālava-pūrvvāyām* 400 80 1 *Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyām*. The first portion of the date speaks of four hundred and eighty-one Kṛita years having elapsed. There can thus be no doubt that this 481 is a year of the Vikrama era. The second portion of the date gives the details in full as follows: 481 *Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyām*. These details, however, are preceded with the most interesting expression, *Mālava-pūrvvāyām*. I have elsewhere pointed out that the word *pūrvvā* has a specific sense of 'detailed order' or 'descriptive sequence' and is used in connection with the specification of dates. The phrase *asyām Mālava-pūrvvāyām* has therefore to be translated as "when the detailed order (of the date) according to the people of the Mālava country was this, namely, 481, on the 5th day of the bright half of Kārttika". This shows without any shadow of a doubt that the Mālava people had their own peculiar system of reckoning the lunar day of the Kṛita year. Now we know that the years of the Vikrama era found in the old inscriptions present different methods of computation. Thus while some are *Kārttikādi*, others are *Chaitrādi*. Some *tithis* again conform to the *pūrṇimānta* and some to the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar month. The Mālava system may have combined one or two of the these peculiarities. Whatever the method of their computation was, this much is certain that not only the

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tithis but even the years are affected thereby. But the *Mālavas* had nothing to do with the foundation of the Vikrama era. The old name of the Vikrama years was *Kṛita*, whatever that may mean. The connection of the *Mālavas* with this era was only in regard to the system of reckoning the *tithis* and thereby the years also. I suspected this when I wrote my paper on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman. But this is now unmistakably demonstrated by the expression *Mālava-pūrvvāyām* of the Nagari record.

Let us now turn to the second question, namely, the determination of the meaning of the term *Kṛita*. We have to note that *Kṛita* has been used always in apposition to the years, such for instance as *Kṛitayor* = *ddvayor* = *varsha-śatayor* = *ddvyaśītayoh* (tau) 200 80 2 *Chaitre*, in the Nāndsā inscription. What can the word *Kṛita* mean in such phrases? I suggested long ago that it possibly meant "made" and referred to the years of an era invented by astronomers. There was, however, no evidence in support of it, and there was nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. Not very long ago I put forward another suggestion for what it was worth. I suggested that *Kṛita* meant *Kṛita* years, that is, the years of the *Kṛita Yuga*. So far as I can see, no scholar of any repute has criticised this suggestion except Prof. A. S. Altekar. He suggests that *Kṛita* must have been the name of some general or king of the *Mālavas*. He points out that *Kṛita* was the individual name not only of one divinity among the *Viśvedevas* but also of the son of Vasudeva and Rohiṇī. *Kṛita* again was the name not only of a pupil of Hiranyanābha but also of the father of Upari-chara. *Kṛita* can thus very well be the name of an individual. But what we cannot quite understand is that

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if *Kṛita* was the name of a ruler or general, not even once the honorific prefix *Śrī* or *Śrīmat* is attached to his name nor the title *nṛipa* or *senāpati* affixed to it. Such is not, however, the case with the name of Vikrama or Vikramāditya where in eighty out of a hundred cases the aforesaid prefix or suffix is added to his name. Besides how can *Kṛita* be taken as the name of an individual ruler in such a compound as *Kṛitayor=ddvayoḥ śatayor* as we no doubt find for instance in the Nāndsā inscription ? Does it mean "of two hundred rulers named *Kṛita*" ? What we have to note is that *Kṛita* always stands in apposition to *vatsara* or *saṁvatsara*. Taken all in all I still cannot help thinking that my suggestion has not yet been well controverted and therefore not at all upset.

Enough attention has not been drawn to the importance of 'the Brahmin Empire' established by the Śūngas sometime before the Christian era. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to bring this subject to our notice in two papers on 'the Brahmin Empire.' In the second of these he has quoted a passage from the *Harivaṁśa* attached to the *Mahābhārata* where Pushyamitra and his revival of Brāhmaṇism have been clearly hinted at. Soon after reading this paper I happened to light upon Chapters 190-1 of the *Vana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* which describe the Kaliyuga and its atrocities. We are told that during the Kali Age the Śūdras will be the preachers and the Brāhmaṇas the hearers, that the earth will be adorned, not by shrines of gods, but by Buddhist *stūpas* (= *śūka*) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlechchha hordes. This has been described as the character of the Kaliyuga, but Kaliyuga will gradually, we are told, develop into a *saṁdhi* period before the *Kṛitayuga* is

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ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitayuga, we are informed that a Brāhmaṇa named Vishṇuyaśas will be born as Kalkī in the town of Sambhala in a Brāhmaṇa family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (*chakravartin*) but also a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform a great Horse-Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, establish the worship of *triśūlas*, *śaktis* and deer-skins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chap. 191, Verses 1-9). I am afraid this description suits Pushyamitra excellently, as he was a Brāhmaṇa, a supreme ruler, a righteous conqueror, and celebrated a horse-sacrifice and re-established the Brāhmaṇic religion. Nay, the account of the Kaliyuga preceding the advent of Kalkī lays stress on the predominance of Buddhism and the Śūdras becoming the preachers exactly as is done by the *Harivaṃśa*, according to which this state of things was ended by Senānī *dvija*, who, as shown by Jayaswal, cannot but be Pushyamitra. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of the *Mahābhārata* also Pushyamitra is intended by the description of Kalkī. The only difficulty that may be raised is that Kalkī is spoken of as a personage to come. But Mr. Jayaswal has already told us that the Purāṇas "clearly say that he did flourish". Thus the *Matsyapurāṇa* says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*) and that Kalkī, Vishṇuyaśas, the leader of the Parāśaras, will be the tenth incarnation at the close of Kaliyuga. Then follows a description of his conquests, but at the end we are told that "Time having passed, that king (or god=*deva*) disappeared." This clearly shows that according to some authorities the Kalkī Incarnation of Vishṇu has come and gone. This means that the Kali Age also has passed away, giving rise to the Kṛita which is therefore now going

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on. If this line of reasoning has any weight, Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Kṛita Epoch which began with 57 B. C.

It is true that Pushyamitra has been assigned to *circa* 180 B. C. on the strength of the dynastic lists and regnal periods specified by the Purāṇas. The testimony of the Purāṇas may perhaps be utilised when there is nothing of an irrefragable character to contradict it. Unfortunately the recent discovery of a Śuṅga inscription in Ayodhyā runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadeva, son of Phalgudeva and Kauśikī, who was Lord of Kosala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadeva says that he was sixth in descent from "Senāpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice." Now, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly says in regard to this epigraph that the alphabet is "almost the same as in the records of the Northern Kshatrapas (first century A. D.)". Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, who edited this inscription last, also remarks that it "on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the first century A. D." In fact, if any scholar frees his mind from any bias created by the date already assigned to Pushyamitra on the strength of the Purāṇas and considers impartially the palaeography of the Ayodhyā inscription, he cannot but come to the same conclusion, *viz.*, that the record belongs to the first century A. D. We have seen that Dhanadeva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and if we assign 25 years to a generation, an interval of 150 years must have separated the two. Further, supposing Dhanadeva lived about 75 A. D., Pushyamitra has to be placed *circa* 75 B. C. It is possible that he first seized power about that time, but he must have been engaged in inter-

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necine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mlechchha rulers and establish himself as an indisputable paramount sovereign. That he was engaged in warfare for a long period is shown by the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice, not once, but twice. The first horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated after he first established his power. But it seems that it was soon after called in question by a number of enemies who had arisen. These were, however, put down, and he re-established his supremacy, which was signalised by the second performance of the horse-sacrifice. Although he thus first came to power in 75 B. C., it was not till 57 B. C. that he became an undisputed supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). So the Kṛitayuga must have been ushered in by him when his power was established for the second time and placed on a firm footing.

Now only one difficulty remains in regard to our theory that the so-called Vikrama Saṁvat are years of the Kṛita era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛita in such a case stands in apposition to *varsha*. We would rather have *Kṛita-vatsarāḥ* or *Kārttāḥ vatsarāḥ*, but not *Kṛitaḥ vatsarah*. Fortunately for us we have a parallel for such terminology in the Śaka era. It is well-known that the years of this era have once been called *Śaka-nṛipati-rājy-ābhisheka-saṁvatsara*, but that they are generally called Śaka-saṁvat. It is however worthy of note that there are some inscriptions, where *Śaka* stands exactly in apposition to Saṁvatsara as Kṛita does. Thus a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the following : *Śrī-Śake trayodaś-ādhika-triśatottara-sahasra-gate*. If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of this proposition, it is supplied by the Somavaṁśi king, Karṇarāja of Kakaira,

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bearing the date *Chaturddas-ottare s=eyam=ekadase* (*sa—*)—*sate Śake*. In both these cases *Śaka* has been used in the sense of “the years of the Śaka era”. It thus seems that the years of the *Kṛitayuga* in course of time similarly came to be known as merely *Kṛita*. In fact, *Kṛita* was considered to be the actual designation of these years. This is clearly shown by the phrase *Kṛita-sam-jñite* which occurs in a Mandasor record. From this it is evident that *Kṛita* denoted not only an epoch, but also the years of that epoch. There is therefore no reasonable ground against the supposition that the Vikrama years were originally the years of the *Kṛitayuga* and that this epoch was ushered in most probably by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. And it was the good fortune of the Gwalior territory and the country round about to have preserved the name *Kṛita*, that is, the years of the *Kṛitayuga* inaugurated in North India.

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THE NINE GEMS
IN
THE COURT OF VIKRAMADITYA

By

B. BHATTACHARYYA, Baroda

For every Indian the magic words *Vikramāditya*, *Ujjayinī* and *Kālidāsa* have infinite charm. These names signify the highest glory, the fullest realisation of life, the pinnacle of prosperity and the zenith of happiness for the Indian people. They conjure up before us a weird vision of ease, of beauty, of excellence, of unfettered freedom. That is the reason why there is enthusiasm and joy and a nation-wide eagerness to celebrate the bi-millennium of the era connected with the hallowed name of Vikramāditya, the completion of which has, for a long time, been regarded in orthodox circles as a great turning point of events.

The great king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is associated with the ancient tradition that there were Nine Gems in his court. Amongst them were the greatest scholars, greatest poets, great mathematicians and eminent men of science. This tradition is current amongst the Pandits of the orthodox school all over India from the heights of the Himālayas down to the Cape Comorin, and from the commercial Gujarat in the west to the sentimental Bengal and Assam in the east.

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With the advent of western research the importance of the Pandits diminished along with their opinions, theories and traditions. The orthodox view regarding the existence of Nine Gems was mercilessly discarded on the ground that the different scholars forming the group cannot be contemporaries, since they belonged to widely different periods¹. For a time it seemed that the discrediting of the Nine Gems theory was a triumph of critical research. But the western method was then only a new arrival, and as such, was still in its infancy, and therefore, childish, ignorant and hasty. The Pandits fortunately do not still believe in the new western method, but continue to hold on tenaciously to their old conception of Nine Gems.

Modern research after refuting the orthodox tradition marched forwards with its wealth of critical material gathered for more than a hundred years, in order to come to the conclusion that, after all, the tradition is not such as can be unceremoniously discarded. It is indeed very refreshing to see our young scholars following the right path in connection with the Vikrama tradition and by an array of powerful arguments making an attempt to corroborate it². Old history

1. See, for instance, the views of A. Weber : *The History of Sanskrit Literature*, popular edition, Pp. 200 f. and foot-notes with numerous references. M Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras 1937, Pp. 100 f. collects a number of authoritative views on Vikrama, Nine Gems, Kālidāsa, etc. both in the text and in numerous foot-notes. It is not possible here to refer to these views or to criticise them. They are so numerous !

2. I here allude to the article, entitled *Chandragupta II Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya and the Nine Jewels*, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, Pp. 191f. and 377f. by Mr. S. K. Dikshit. This is one of the most brilliant articles on the subject, and it refers to practically all the problems connected with it with fairly full references. This article has been helpful to me in preparing this paper, although unfortunately I have not been able to accept his conclusions in most cases.

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turns into traditions, and traditions turn into mythology. This is the natural process, particularly in a country like India where history through millenniums passes first into pre-history, then into mythology before passing into the oblivion. In the present paper an attempt will be made to show that with our present knowledge it would be advisable to conform to the tradition current amongst the Pandits in so far as Vikrama and his Nine Gems are concerned. Endeavour will also be made to find out exactly what part of the tradition can be accepted and what part should be rejected with the help of our advanced knowledge.

Hardly an account of the great king Vikramāditya can be complete without a reference to the origin of the so-called Vikrama era which started its triumphant career in 58 B. C. If this problem is properly investigated and its implications are sufficiently realised, many historical illusions and many unwarranted investigations and assumptions will disappear and many favourite theories will meet with their doom. With regard to the Vikrama era the first thing to be remembered is that all materials at our disposal point to the fact that in 58 B. C. there was no Vikramāditya and no Vikrama era. In 58 B. C. some era was started, indeed, but that was the Kṛita era of the Mālavas and not the Vikrama era. The Kṛita era of the Mālavas started with a definite historical event as will be shown in the sequel, and that event was not connected with the life story of any Vikramāditya but with the settlement of the Mālavas, that is to say, when the several tribes composing the Mālava Gaṇa combined together under one leadership and formed one government. It is true that 58 B. C. marked the commencement of the tribal era of the Mālavas, and they were so proud of it that they

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named the era as the Kṛita era or the golden age or an era of great prosperity, and of spiritual, moral and intellectual advancement.

The name of the Vikrama era was not known in India till the Vikrama year 898¹. Until then, the problem of Vikrama era never existed. There is indeed an inscription which mentions Vikrama Saṁvatsara 794², but as the editor considers the date irregular, it is doubtful whether it can be taken as a genuine instance of the use of the Vikrama year. Thus upto 898 Vikrama year, the name of Vikrama had never been associated with this era which used to be called either the Kṛita era or the Mālava era. Therefore, those who hold that the era was known as the Vikrama era from its very inception and that the era was started by King Vikramāditya are undoubtedly in the grip of an historical hallucination. It is high time that such absurd notions are given up.

Once we realise the true origin of the Vikrama era, once we appreciate the fact that there was no Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., we shall at once discover the futility of the attempts of scholars to find out a secret Vikrama in that year. Some scholars rely on a Jain tradition that there was a Gardabhilla King who insulted Kālaka, a Jaina saint, who in his anger brought Śakas to India. The Śakas were later on driven away by Vikramāditya, the son of Gardabhilla³. The Jain tradition as well as the investigation of scholars on that tradition represent as unprofitable inquiry, and therefore, altogether valueless for historical purposes. How can

1. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 27 V. E. where "Kālasya Vikramākhyasya" occurs.

2. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 17 V. E. mentions "Vikramasaṁvatsara".

3. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, P. 196f.

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there be a headache without a head and how can there be an inquiry if there was no Vikrama and no Vikrama era in 58 B. C.? To the same class must be assigned the attempts of professors who think that either Śūdraka or Agnimitra should be identified with Vikrama the originator of the era¹. Here it is interesting to refer to an ingenious attempt to manufacture evidence to show that the Vikrama era was started by Śūdraka². The Rasashala of Gondal has just published a remarkable (!) book, although in fragments, *Kṛishṇacharitra* by name, of the remarkable authorship of the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta ! In this book the author seeks the aid of the powerful monarch to explain a historical riddle which never existed. The instance of the recent publication of *Kṛishṇacharitra* is here cited simply to show the latest tendency in the art of producing faked books and manuscripts. But it is fortunate that it does not take much time for a true historian to detect such spurious products.

Once it is established that there was no Vikrama era in 58 B. C. all attempts at discovering a phantom Vikramāditya at 58 B. C. should be lightly passed over. The era commencing with 58 B. C. was started by the Mālavas, and hence an account of the tribe here would be interesting.

The Mālavas appear in history in the *Mahābhārata*³ as one among the northern peoples. "Northern peoples"

1. Identifications are dangerous in antiquarian and historical inquiries, especially in India, and should not be resorted to unless thoroughly obvious or supported by texts. Many illusions have crept in because of lack of discrimination in this matter.

2. *Kṛishṇacharitra*, P. 5—

Vatsaram svam Śakān jtvā prāvartayata Vaikramam.

3. *Sabhāparvan*, Ch. XXXII. See also Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part I, Pp. 155f.

is a vague term, and it may mean nomadic peoples, tribes or castes inhabiting the northern parts of India, such as Rajputana, the Punjab, the Himālayas or even the Trans-Himālayan regions like Central Asia, Khotan and the like. Pāṇini's information¹ is slightly more definite since he associates the Mālavas with the Kshudrakas and calls them Āyudhajīvinas or 'living on weapons', that is to say, a warlike people bent on conquests. The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas appear more as nomadic tribes conquering countries and migrating from place to place. Alexander the Great met these tribes of warriors in the Central and Southern Punjab².

K. P. Jayaswal has given a very vivid account of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas in his *Hindu Polity*³. During his retreat Alexander came across a number of republics. In fact, all the states he met on his way back, down to the Indus and up to the Indian frontier in Baluchistan, were republican. The most powerful among them were the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas. They are spelt by the Greeks as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were on the Hydaspes, by which the Greeks apparently mean the passage of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab. The two states formed one league. Arrian (VI.4) says that they were the most numerous and warlike of the Indian 'nations' in those parts. Alexander first reached the nation called the Malloi. Near the Malloi there were their republican friends the Siboi, whom the Jātakas and Patañjali know as the Śibis and Śaibyas. The Malloi are called a race of independent Indians (Arrian, VI. 6); their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Rāvi.

1. Pāṇini V. 3. 114-117 with *Kāśhā*, and Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity*, Part I, P. 34.

2. Raychaudhuri : *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 171, 175, 176.

3. *Hindu Polity*, Part I, Pp. 68ff.

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It was in the siege of the capital or one of the cities of Malloi that Alexander nearly lost his life.

The strength of the army as given by Curtius was 1,00,000. The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army. When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition.

According to Patañjali the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas survived the Macedonian fight in which the latter became victorious. The Macedonian writers speak of the two nations having sent one hundred ambassadors who all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with inwrought gold and purple. The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear. It is also said that Alexander treated the ambassadors with uncommon hospitality. He gave orders for the preparation of a splendid banquet, and placed a hundred couches of gold at a small distance of each other.

The above account will give a vivid picture of the power and glory of the Mālavas in the time of Alexander the Great (c. 327 B. C.). The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas reappear in the Śuṅga times¹. Patañjali knows them and mentions some victory which they by themselves had won. But in the subsequent centuries they are no longer traceable. They were probably fully amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from the Punjab to the eastern Rajputana. The Māla-

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini V. 3. 52. Also Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part I, P. 152.

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vas were in their new homes about 150-100 B. C. as evidenced by the earliest type of their coins found at Karakoṭa Nagar in the Jaipur State. The Mālavas seem to have migrated *via* Bhaṭṭā (Patiala State) where they have left traces of their name in Malwai dialect extending from Ferozepore to Bhaṭṭā. Before 58 B. C. the Mālavas are found beseiging the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer which was relieved by the forces of Nahapāna. The Mālavas subsequently covered the whole of the vast area to the south of Nagar, which permanently bears their name.

The origin, strength, splendour and migration of the Mālavas are indicated in the above account. Their migration and subsequent settlement in the Avanti country ultimately gave it the significant name of Malwa. The Mālavas were undoubtedly semi-nomad and pastoral in their habits and they used to move and migrate in hordes. When migration stops and a settled agricultural life begins under a well ordered social and political scheme, then alone true civilization begins. In the case of the Mālavas the migration stopped when they found a paradise in the table-lands of the Vindhya with a bracing cold climate, with plenty of fertile land and water, with a scenery and flora charming to the extreme. Plenty of Śikār available in this region was an additional attraction for the nomads who have to live mostly on their catches. The Mālavas were a discriminating people; they were not in favour of Rajputana with its waste lands, inhospitable climate of extreme heat and extreme cold with sandy desert all around. They preferred Malwa to Rajputana and there they settled in a fixed habitation in order that they may never afterwards move and migrate. It was thus an historical event of the first magnitude, and when they strike upon a settled

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form of government in which the individuality of the different hordes and tribes are altogether merged for the common good, it is a fit event for commemoration. Thus begins the great era called the KRITA era of the Mālavas, an era which was equal to the Satya Yuga of the Hindus ushering in what may be called the Golden Age. Kālidāsa's account of the typical Mālava princess Mālavikā¹ makes it clear that the Mālavas were pro-Brāhmaṇic, and the Brāhmaṇa king Agnimitra marrying the Mālava girl shows the process by which the Mālavas were in later centuries totally absorbed into the Hindu society leaving very little or no trace of their existence for the historians to investigate.

Before initiating a discussion on the Mālava era it will be interesting to refer to the view of the western scholars to explain the origin of the so-called Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall came across a few inscriptions at Taxila, Takht-i-bahi and Kalāvan which showed certain connected years in a new era. From the word *Ayasa* preceding these years, Sir John at once concluded that the so-called Vikrama era or the Mālava era was started by one Azes I², an insignificant Śaka king without even the title of a Rājā. Sir John's great discovery was hailed with the greatest jubilation by western scholars, and many chronological schemes were made on this slender hypothesis. Frankly speaking, I cannot conceive how it can be true and why there should be a desire to attribute the origin of this national era of India to foreign origin. It must be remembered that India can count insignificant kings like Azes by thousands. An

1. In his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

2. Compare : *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, P. 581f. "It determines the origin of the so-called Vikrama era and fixes the beginning of the reign of Azes I in 58 B. C." Here we see the wonderful spectacle of one wrong hypothesis trying to correct an historical illusion.

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era started by a foreign king without kingdom and without following has very little chance of survival in a country like India. The earliest stone inscriptions using the Mālava era are found mostly in Malwa and Rajputana and not in Taxila the home of the Ayasa era. And again, who knows whether the three letters A-ya-sa are not mis-read and mis-interpreted? The great chronological structure built on the questionable authority of the three letters aforesaid does not appear to me to stand on very secure foundation.

Turning to the Mālava era it may be noticed that the Kṛita year first makes its appearance in the two Nāndsā pillar inscriptions (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* according to Vikrama Era, No. 1, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX) as Kṛita 282. Therefore, between the inception of the era and the year 282 no inscription bears a date in the same era. Inscriptions belonging to the intermediate period either could not be recognised or are undated or lost. The next year to be mentioned is Kṛita 428 which appears in the Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription¹. It may be noticed that here also it is a year of the KṚITA era. The next available year is 461 appearing in the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman². Here the Kṛita year is qualified by the word 'Śrīr-Mālavagaṇāmnāte' 'firmly established by the Gaṇa or the Republic of the prosperous Mālavas'. With the help of this material we can say that the Kṛita era was associated with the Mālavas when the year 461 was current. This is the first evidence that the Kṛita era was also known as the Mālava era. The inscription of the Mālava year 493³ mentions 'Mālavānām

1. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 2 V. E.

2. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 3 V. E.

3. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 6 V. E.

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gaṇa-sṭhityāḥ', or 'from the Gaṇa-sṭhiti of the Mālavas', or in other words, from the time of the settlement of the Mālava hordes. The inscription of 524¹ mentions 'vikhyāpake Mālava-vaṁśa-kīrtteḥ' or 'proclaiming the glory of the dynasty of the Mālavas'. An inscription of the year 589² uses the word 'Mālava-gaṇa-sṭhiti-vaśāt' or 'dependent on the settlement of the Mālava hordes'. This era is also described as the Saṁvatsara of the Kings of Malwa (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 18), also of the King of Malwa (*Ibid*, No. 16). The Mālava era is for the last time mentioned in the Gyāraspur fragmentary inscription of the year 936³ where it is called 'Mālava-kāla'. From this time onwards Mālava era disappeared from Indian inscriptions, giving place to the Vikrama era, although the basis of the computation remained the same from a starting point in 58 B. C.⁴ These are some of the hard facts concerning the Vikrama era, and cannot be explained away by the evidence of any other kind.

The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that the era started in 58 B. C. with the 'Mālava Gaṇa' which may either mean the Mālava horde or the Mālava republic, or with the 'Mālava-gaṇa-sṭhiti' or the settlement of the Mālava Gaṇa or the establishment of the Mālava republic. The term 'Mālavesānām' in plural suggests that the original leaders were many and not one, and perhaps refers to the oligarchic form of government of the Mālavas. It was called KRITA in imita-

1. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 7 V. E.

2. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 9 V. E.

3. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 37 V. E.

4. This must have happened when historical sense disappeared from the minds of the authors of inscriptions, when the distance between 58 B. C. and Vikramāditya's time faded and coalesced into one. As the tradition of Vikrama was too strong the Mālava era had naturally to yield to the more powerful Vikrama era.

tion of the Kṛita Yuga the best of time periods. I do not agree with the great scholars who think that the era was called Kṛita because it was 'made or prepared' for marking dates. But can any historian show me an era which has not been 'made or prepared' for marking dates? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of the Kṛita with the Vikrama era² is hardly convincing in the absence of more definite epigraphic material. It is thus needless for me to state that for the purposes of definite historical conclusions Kṛita and Mālava eras should be allowed to remain as the Kṛita and the Mālava eras; it will also be perfectly scientific if the Kṛita is identified with the Mālava era on the strength of the passage 'Śrīr-Mālavaganāmnāte praśaste Kṛita-samjñite' appearing in one of the inscriptions³. But for identifying the Kṛita or the Mālava era with the Vikrama era, at least in the earlier period, there is absolutely no justification.

If, as has been shown already, there had been no Vikramāditya in 58 B.C., the question naturally arises as to who this Vikramāditya must be in whose court the Nine Gems flourished. Such a Vikramāditya must at the same time be a great and famous king and not an ordinary man requiring a microscope to find him out. There are two important clues to help us to discover his identity. First, he is the Śakāri or the enemy of the Śakas and second, he belonged to Ujjayinī.

Let us see first whether the history of Ujjayinī can lead us anywhere. The great city of Ujjayinī is the

1. *IA*, 1913, P. 200 ; *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 31.

2. See D. R. Bhandarkar's article entitled "*The Vikrama Era*" in the *Commemorative Essays* presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, 1917, Pp 187ff.

3. In the Inscription of Naravarman : Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 3 V. E.

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famous Ozene¹ of the Greeks and the picturesque Visālā of the poets. It was famous for its celebrated temple of Mahākālā. It was the capital of Pradyota, the father of Vāsavadattā, and of his family, and then of the viceroys of the Mauryas. Aśoka as a prince was posted at Ujjayinī as the Maurya viceroy. The *Periplus* states that it was formerly a royal capital. Ptolemy informs us that it was the capital of Tiastenes (Chashtāna). His descendants are known as the Śāka Satraps. They were conquered by Chandra Gupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In Yuan Chwang's time it was the capital of the Kaṭachchhuris. Then we find the Paramāras who governed it down to the time of the Muslim conquest. Rājasekhara² records a tradition that Visālā was an examination centre where poets used to be examined. It is said that here Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Śūra, Bhāravi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined.

This brief history of Ujjayinī shows that the Śakas were ruling the Malwa with their capital at Ujjayinī from the time of Chashtāna (c. 130 A. D.) upto the time when the Śakas were driven out by Chandra Gupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The last known member of the Śāka or Kshatrapa line was Rudra Simha III who ruled upto at least 388 A. D. This Rudra Simha III apparently was conquered, routed and driven out for good by Chandra Gupta II sometime after A. D. 388. The Śakas were the enemies of Brāhmaṇic culture, as has been shown ably by Jayaswal³, and certainly we cannot expect literary examinations to be held in their time. A Brahma-Sabhā is possible only when

1. For a brief history of the town of Ozene, see S. N. Majumdar: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy (Mc Rindle)*, P. 373 (Notes).

2. *Kāvyaśikṣasā*, G. O. S., P. 55, and Introduction, P. xxxvii (third edition).

3. *History of India*, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., Pp. 150ff.

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they are extirpated. It now remains to be proved that this Śākāri Chandra Gupta II is the same as the Śākāri Vikramāditya in whose court the Nine Gems flourished.

In the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* there is an account of the seven Imperial Gupta kings with a great deal of original information hitherto unknown to the text-books on Indian history. As the testimony of this *Purāṇa* throws some light on the Vikramāditya question, I am tempted to refer to it here. According to this *Purāṇa* there was only one Vikramāditya amongst the Imperial Guptas, and that was Chandra Gupta II. The other six Guptas had a different appellation for each, ending in Āditya. Thus Chandra Gupta I was known as Vijayāditya, Samudra Gupta as Aśokāditya, Kumāra Gupta I as Mahendrāditya, Skanda Gupta as Parākramāditya, Nṛsiṃha Gupta as Bālāditya and Kumāra Gupta II as Kramāditya¹.

According to the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* it is easy to spot the only Vikramāditya of the Gupta line as Chandra Gupta II who ruled for a period of 36 years from A. D. 378 to 414. Thus the Śākāri Vikramāditya of the traditional fame belonged to the Gupta line who were originally in Śrīparvata in Nepal and were hill-men. Marriage alliances were the trump cards with the Guptas. By marriage they came to Pāṭaliputra, by marriage they got the throne of the Āndhras, by marriage they established friendship with the Nāgas and by marriage they brought the Vākāṭakas under control². Their

1. Reference may be made to M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, P. cii where he has quoted from this *Purāṇa*. But as he identified Samudra Gupta with the Sandrakottas of the Greeks, he appears to have completely missed the significance and the true value of the passages.

2. Raichaudhury : *Political History of Ancient India*, P. 376f, as also the account of the Guptas as given in the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*. See *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. ciif.

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methods were also not very refined. Samudra Gupta was a parricide, and Chandra Gupta II was a fratricide and married the widowed wife of his brother. Chandra Gupta II naturally wanted fame to cover the stain, and the best way to do that was to patronise learned men on a grand scale, and this he did with a vengeance. For the present this should be our conclusion¹.

Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya is described in the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*² as one who will come in the future. There it is said that Chandra Gupta II will be born as the son of Samudra Gupta. He will be like a lion among heroes; by his prowess he will drive away from the country the Yavanas and the Hūṇas. He will be surrounded by learned men like the powerful Sun-God. He will be proficient in the sciences, the Vedas, the laws, the Purāṇa, the Itihāsa and Kāvya, and will become famous throughout the world as *Vikramāditya*. By crossing the seven rivers, by conquering the Vāhlikas and other tribes, and by having raised pillars of fame upto the Saurāshṭra country, he will enjoy the earth for thirty-six years without a rival.

1. The conclusions obtained from the Purāṇa have been briefly summarised in my article entitled 'New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas' published in Vol. I of the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*.

2. The passage runs as follows :—

तस्य पुत्रोऽपरश्चन्द्रमुत्पात्यो वीरकेसरी ।
यवनांश्च तथा हूणान् देशाद् विद्रावयन् बलात् ॥
विक्रमादित्यवन्नित्यं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासकाव्यविचक्षणः ॥
विक्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रथां गतः ।
सप्तसिन्धून् समुत्तीर्य वाल्हीकादीन् विजित्य च ॥
सुराष्ट्रदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तम्भं समुच्छ्रयन् ।
षट्त्रिंशद् भोक्ष्यति समास्त्वेकच्छत्रां वसुन्धराम् ॥

—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, Pp. ciii-civ.

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Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya was undoubtedly a great monarch with great achievements. With his capital at Pāṭaliputra he certainly had an extensive dominion, but the foreign rulers of Śaka origin in western India were a thorn in the flesh of this great Hindu monarch. The Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī and Gīrnar from the time of Chashṭāna (130 A.D.) till the end of the fourth century A. D. had consolidated their strength and spread their foreign influence on the society and culture of the whole of western India¹. Chandra Gupta II wanted all this to go, and made a bold attempt to drive them out of Indian soil. The campaign proved eminently successful, and he was able to uproot the Śakas and rid the country of foreign influence. He was, therefore, hailed with jubilation as the great Śakāri Vikramāditya by the learned men and the orthodoxy of India. His dominions spread right upto Saurāshṭra (Kathiawad) in the west. Thus from Bengal to Kathiawad, king Vikramāditya had unrivalled sway. To look after his newly acquired territories in the west, he made Ujjayinī his second capital and in order to keep them in an undisturbed condition he gave his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king and won his esteem².

The change in the political atmosphere in northern India had a marvellous effect on the cultural and social life of India. Scholars, poets, scientific men, dramatists and the like sprang up from all quarters. Whoever among them could show any brilliance, particularly in special literary examinations, was at once rewarded in some form or other by the accomplished and apprecia-

1 For an account of the Śakas of Ujjayinī see Raichaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 343ff.

2 For an historical account of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya see Raichaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 376ff.

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tive king Vikramāditya. All were enthused with a new life as it were. Orthodox sacrifices were held, new temples were built and all signs of foreign culture and foreign influence disappeared. People breathed an air which was at once fresh, free and light, became happy, buoyant and prosperous, and the literature of the period reflected this mood in all its multifarious branches. Kālidāsa was a product of this age, and all authors of the excellent inscribed pieces were the products of this age. The style of writing with its free, easy, flowing, smooth, natural, light and sweet language was a special characteristic of this period. This charming style continued till the time of Yaśodharman (M. E. 589) before it finally disappeared giving rise to a stiff, tough, laboured and unnatural style akin to that found among the Jains of Gujarat in a later period. In order to give a fillip Vikramāditya made Sanskrit popular and made it a language of the harem¹ and of the people for daily use.²

Thus it is quite possible that there would be numerous scholars, poets, playwrights and authors round about Vikramāditya. Out of the whole lot only nine were considered to be of special eminence. Many must be their works, and high must be the quality of their productions. Unfortunately for us, all that literature is not preserved, and to-day some of them can with difficulty be traced through casual references. Works written by these great authors have not, again,

1. Cf. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, P. 50—

Śrūyate Ujjayinyām Sāhasāṅko nāma rājā; tena cha Saṁskṛita—
bhāṣhātmakam antalipura eva.

2. *IC*, VI, P. 381 where Mr. Dikshit quotes the following significant verse from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*: 'Kāle Śrī-Sāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṁskṛitavādinah'. To this I would prefer to give the above interpretation.

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come down to us in their pristine purity. Frequent omissions and additions have been made in them as they passed through centuries of copying by both learned and ignorant sets of copyists. Thus inaccuracies, unauthorized additions, corrections and omissions characterise these works. They require, therefore, the most careful handling when used for historical and chronological purposes. But one thing must be remembered, particularly in view of what the European scholars allege, that these scholars and authors were all honest men. They were the worshippers of the sacred deity Sarasvatī and were incapable of deliberate lies in order to mislead somebody either in their own time or any time afterwards. In India at least, the ancient authors cannot be charged with dishonesty and forgery. These are modern inventions! If they have given inaccurate information, it is because they in their own time honestly believed in it. We should exercise what little intelligence we possess, not with a conviction what we think to-day is absolutely correct, but with a view to making an earnest and honest endeavour to find out what was true.

That there were many scholars at the court of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya is recorded in that much maligned work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa who, in the opinion of the great mathematician MM. Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi, belonged to 1164 Śaka¹. That this is not the work of the great poet Kālidāsa there is not the slightest doubt, and the Śloka connecting

1. Here it may be remarked that this work, where mundane astrology is treated, is not quoted in the *Adbhutaśāgara* of Vallāla Sena (c.1185) dealing principally with mundane astrology and quoting extensively from previous authorities. Moreover in his time the equinoctial point was 12 degrees distant from the first point of Aries, and on that basis $444 \text{ plus } 12 \times 60 = 720 = 1164$ Śaka seems to be the correct date of this Gaṇaka Kālidāsa.

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the author with the works of Kālidāsa must have been the foolish addition of the copyist who, in his supreme ignorance, could not distinguish between the two Kālidāsas. Kern's opinion¹ that the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* was a forgery is too naive to require any refutation.

According to the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* there were nine Sabhāsads or Court Pandits in the court of Vikramāditya. They were Śaṅku, Vararuchi, Maṇi, Aṅgudatta, Jishṇu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghaṭakarpara and Amarasimha. Besides these, there were seven Kālatantra Kavis or poets conversant with the science of time. Under this head are given the names of Satya, Varāhamihira, Śrutaseṇa, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha and Kumārasimha. In addition to these two lists Gaṇaka Kālidāsa gives a further list of Nine Gems in which the prominent names of the two previous lists are incorporated. The names of Nine Gems are—Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasimha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi².

The statement of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa gives quite a natural, straightforward and matter of fact information. Here the author records a tradition which was current in his time (1164 Śaka), and I do not see any reason why his statement should be disbelieved. All the authors mentioned are capable of flocking round Vikramāditya for encouragement and patronage, thus making their patron and themselves famous. As a matter of fact, the Vikramāditya age was the Golden Age in the whole range of Sanskrit literature and furnished a landmark in the steady march of national scholarship towards progress. If the little information we gather

1. Prof. H. Kern—*Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 84.

2. Chapter XXII, Verses 8, 9 and 10.

to-day from various heterogeneous sources of varying degrees of authenticity and authority runs counter to this great tradition, we should either consider our present knowledge altogether valueless or make an attempt to justify it by eliminating data on which no reliance can be placed.

The Nine Gems theory cannot be lightly passed over, since Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, hints at it in the passage *Navakā vīlasanti* (the insignificant nine enjoy, as against the extraordinary nine) while mourning the death of Vikramāditya¹. Subandhu was the *Bhāginēya* (sister's son) of Vararuchi who was a court poet of Vikramāditya. The commentator of Subandhu also calls the author a member of Vikramāditya's court. On the face of this positive and absolutely contemporary evidence how can it be said that the tradition of Nine Gems as recorded in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* is a pure myth? Kern himself has relied on an inscriptional evidence to show that the Nine Gems were in the court of Vikramāditya. I quote here the relevant passage from Kern in full. "In an inscription of Buddha Gayā a translation of which is given by Wilkins (*As. Res.*, Vol. I, 286) we find the following. 'Vikramāditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men, celebrated under the epithet of the *Nava ratnāni* or nine jewels; one of whom was Amaradeva, who was the king's councillor, a man of great learning, and the greatest favourite of

1. For a fuller account of the two authors Vararuchi and Subandhu, see S. K. Dikshit in *IC*, Vol. VI, Pp 377ff. In this verse the author tries to impress that after the death of Vikramāditya instead of the old set of Nine Jewels nine commonplace poets and scholars have taken their place. According to M. Krishnamachariar, "In this allusion to Vikramāditya there is express indication that Vikramāditya so lamented was the patron of the Nine Gems" (op. cit. P. 467).

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the prince.' This inscription is dated Saṃvat 1015 or A. D. 948''.

Since a myth cannot reasonably expect to have confirmation from two widely different historical sources, we have no alternative but to accept it as a tradition of great importance and an historical fact. The names of the Nine Gems have been preserved by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. Otherwise these would have been lost. Should we abuse him or thank him? It is for the scholars to decide.

Let us see now who these Nine Gems were, what their achievements and functions were, and how they were connected with Vikramāditya and Ujjayinī. But before this inquiry is proceeded with, it should be pointed out that although some of the Gems were very greatly distinguished in the time of Vikramāditya they are not so now. Time has erased much of that glory, and to-day some of them exist only in some stray and unimportant references in Sanskrit literature, and all vestiges of their life and activities are altogether forgotten. Only those among the Nine Gems who wrote standard works have survived, but others who did not write or were distinguished in other spheres of human activity have left only traces of their memory at the present time. With these preliminary remarks the Nine Gems are taken below one after another in the order in which they are mentioned by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*.

THE FIRST GEM DHANVANTARI

With regard to the first Gem we have naturally to distinguish between two Dhanvantaris, one mythological

1. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, Introduction to the English translation of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, Pp. 87-88.

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and celestial and another historical and terrestrial¹. When gods used to suffer from diseases, the celestial Dhanvantari used to treat them and thus keep them always in fit condition. That in heaven there are no diseases to-day is solely due to this ever-present and ever watchful Dhanvantari. When Vāsuki, the great snake-god, had an eye trouble, Dhanvantari is said to have used considerable skill in curing him, and this he could only do by making the thousand-hooded snake-god lie on the back, when the poisonous fumes emitted by his thousand mouths could not reach the eyes. There are also stories to explain how Dhanvantari came in conflict with snakes whom he could almost invariably conquer by his medicines and charms, but we are not here concerned with him, since he was not, and could not conceivably be, connected with the Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.

The Dhanvantari of terrestrial origin is known in the Āyurveda literature in Sanskrit. Here again two Dhanvantaris are distinguished, one was the Kshattriya king of Benares and the second is the progenitor of the Vaidya caste. But both of them propagated the science of medicine to the public. Bhāva Miśra² held the view that the teacher of Suśruta was Dhanvantari, the Kshattriya prince born in the family of Bāhu. The first Gem Dhanvantari may quite conceivably be identified with the preceptor of Suśruta who was well conversant with surgery. Charaka is usually considered to be a contemporary of Kāpiśhka; Suśruta who comes later may be relegated to the Gupta dynasty. He was

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1. For a historical, quasi-historical, mythological and other accounts of Dhanvantari, please refer to *History of Indian Medicine* by Girindranath Mukhopadhyaya, Vol. II (1926), Chapter XI, Pp. 308ff.
 2. From the relevant extracts from the *Bhāva-prakāśā*, see *History of Indian Medicine*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 316.

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initiated in the art of surgery by his guru Dhanvantari, who must have had a considerable hand in re-organising the army medical corps in order to help Vikramāditya in his many campaigns against the Śaka foreigners. Dhanvantari may very well be conceived as the Surgeon-General to the Chief of the State and as having attained fame and distinction in that capacity.

The medical work *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* along with several other works are ascribed to Dhanvantari. Various medical preparations and specifics are also attributed to Dhanvantari. The Dhānvantara Ghṛita, Pāśupata Rasa, Mṛityuñjaya Lauha, Rasa Rājendra, Rasābhra Guggula, among others, may be mentioned in this connection¹.

THE SECOND GEM KSHAPAṆAKA

Kshapaṇaka comes second in the order. Kshapaṇaka is a Hindu term for signifying Jainas of all description. The Digambaras were designated by the special term Nagna Kshapaṇaka. Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his list of Kālatantra Kavis mentions Śrutasena whom his learned commentator identified with Siddhasena Divākara who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. As he seems to be the only Jaina famous in the court of Vikramāditya, Kshapaṇaka the second Gem may be quite rightly identified with Siddhasena Divākara². That Siddhasena knew Jyotiṣa is testified by Varāhamihira who quotes his opinion in the *Bṛihajjātaka*³.

Jain traditions associate Siddhasena with the great king Vikramāditya. Of the various accounts of

1. *History of Indian Medicine*, op. cit. Vol. II, Pp. 318 and 328.

2. As has been done by Mohanchand Dalichand Desai in his *Jaina Sāhityaṇṭi*, P. 106f. and MM. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic*, Pp. 173ff. and 222.

3. Chapter VII, Verse 7 "Devasvāmī Siddhaseno' pi chaiva".

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Siddhasena the earliest is represented by the *Prākṛita Kahāvalī* of Bhadrēśvara Sūri (c. 1064-94 A. D.)¹. According to Jain accounts Siddhasena was the son of Devarshi and Devaśrī of the Kātyāyana gotra. He accepted Vṛiddhavādi Sūri as his preceptor after being outwitted by him in a disputation before a gathering of shepherds.

Siddhasena once proposed to the Jaina Saṅgha that the Āgamas may be re-cast in Sanskrit. This was considered by the Saṅgha as a sacrilege, and as a result, Siddhasena was banished from the Saṅgha. Jain accounts further state that after his expulsion Siddhasena travelled widely. In the course of his travels he came to the court of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī and presented to him four verses of his composition. This pleased the king so much that he at once gave Siddhasena an honoured place in the assembly.

Once again, it is said that Siddhasena visited the temple of Lord Śiva along with king Vikramāditya but did not pay homage to the god. Thereupon, the king asked for an explanation from Siddhasena for his strange behaviour. Siddhasena coolly replied that the Śiva Liṅga was not strong enough to withstand the power of his prayers. At the request of Vikramāditya Siddhasena muttered some prayers, and lo! the Liṅga spontaneously burst open and an image of Pārśvanātha miraculously emerged out of the aperture².

1. Other accounts also can be found from several other sources, e. g., *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Sūri (1304 A. D.) and the *Chaturviṃśatīprabandha* of Rājasekhara Sūri (1349 A.D.) and in the *Prabhāvacharitra* of Prabhāchandra Sūri.

2. Cf. for instance, *Prabhāvacharitra* in the Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, P. 59 :—

ततश्च कौस्तुभस्येव पुरुषोत्तमहृत्स्थिते ।

प्रभोः श्रीपार्वनाथस्य प्रतिमा प्रकटाभवत् ॥

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Siddhasena is also said to have discovered some ancient Tantra works on alchemy and on miraculous raising of armies. With this Vidyā he helped king Devapāla (not of the Pāla dynasty, of course !) of Karmāra Nagara in the east when he was attacked by the army of Vijayavarman of Kāmarūpa. Siddhasena's last days were spent at Pratishṭhānapura, and the news of his death was received at Viśālā with the greatest regret. Siddhasena also is said to be a contemporary of Dhanañjaya, king of Broach and the son of Balamitra. Vṛiddhavādi, his teacher, had also his headquarters at Broach (Bhṛigupura).

Siddhasena is reputed to have composed thirty-two Dvātrīṃśikās out of which twenty-two are available, although all of them do not contain the full thirty-two stanzas. Siddhasena's *Nyāyāvatāra* inaugurated a new era in Jain logic¹ which he extricated from confusion by reason of its being mixed up with metaphysical matter. Another work of his, the *Sanmatitarka*², composed in the Prakrit language deals with various matters pertaining to Jain logic including the doctrine of Naya.

Siddhasena's fondness for the Sanskrit language in which he wanted the Āgamas to be re-written must be due to the influence of Vikramāditya who was not only a lover of Sanskrit but also made it the language of the harem and of the people at large for daily use³.

1. For a detailed account of his services to the cause of Jaina Logic, please refer to *A History of Indian Logic* by S.C. Vidyabhushana, Pp. 173ff.

2. This valuable work was published in part by Pandit Sukhalalji and Bechardas from the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad.

3. Compare *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, P. 50—"Saṃskṛitabhāṣātmakam antaḥpura eveti", also "Kāle Śrī-Śāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṃskṛitavādinah"—*IC*, VI, P. 381n.

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The bursting of the Liṅga as an historical fact is rather very hard for non-Jainas to swallow.

Siddhasena is described as a poet of very high order, an excellent panegyrist, a great controversialist, an acute logician, a sympathetic reformer, as also an authority on astrology and horoscopy worthy of the respect of Varāhamihira¹. No wonder he was respected as a Gem in Vikramāditya's court.

THE THIRD GEM AMARASIMHA

That the third Gem Amarasimha was connected with Vikramāditya is established on the authority of the Buddha Gayā inscription referred to by Kern in his introduction to the English translation of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*². In this inscription it is said that Vikramāditya was a renowned king in the world. In his court there were nine learned men celebrated under the epithet of *Nava ratnāni* or nine jewels. One of them is Amaradeva who was the king's councillor, a man of great learning, and the greatest favourite of the prince. The inscription is from Saṁvat 1015 or 948 A. D.

The Buddha Gayā temple, according to General Cunningham, is the one seen by Yuan Chwang between 629 and 642 A. D. but not by Fi-Hien who visited India between 399 and 414 A. D. As this Buddhist temple was erected by Amaradeva, one of the Nine Gems in the court of Vikramāditya, Cunningham concluded that Amaradeva is the same as Amarasimha the author of the *Amarakośa*³.

This Amarasimha must be considered to be a Buddhist, since he erected a Buddhist temple in the

1. *Bṛhajjātaka*, VII 7.

2. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 87f.

3. Prof. H. Kern : op. cit. Vol. IV, P. 88.

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Buddhist strong-hold of Buddha Gayā. He cannot be considered a Jaina as some scholars assert. There is a tradition that Amara wrote many works, but they were destroyed by the great reformer Śaṅkarāchārya (c. 778 A. D.)¹.

There is an interesting reference to Amara in Rājasekhara's *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā*. There it is said that Amara was examined at a poets' examination held at Viśālā or Ujjayinī². Thus Amara's association with Ujjayinī is also established by an independent tradition. Amara no longer is an unknown or obscure figure. He is an associate of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī and that as a Gem. A floating verse makes Amara the son of Śabarasvāmin by a Śūdra wife³.

THE FOURTH GEM ŚAṅKU

Śaṅku may have been a great man in Vikramāditya's time, but to-day we have absolutely no trace of him beyond the solitary mention of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*. Further, there is a reference in a wretched floating verse which makes Śaṅku the son of Śabarasvāmin born of a Vaiśya wife⁴. This floating verse records the wonderful tradition that Śabarasvāmin had taken a wife each from all the four castes and through each begot distinguished sons who became famous in different spheres of life. The names of the six sons of Śabarasvāmin make us naturally sus-

1. See also S. C. De : *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya*, P. 27.

2. See *Supra*.

3. More about this verse will come in the sequel. See the Fourth Gem.

4. *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 209 quotes the verse as—

ब्राह्मण्यामभवद् वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदामग्रणी

राजा भर्तृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजायामभूत् ।

वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती

शूद्रायाममरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥

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picious about the genuineness of the tradition, although, if we exercise our imagination a little, we may, to a certain measure, take all of them to be contemporaries. In this floating verse Varāhamihira is said to be Śabara-svāmin's son by the Brāhmaṇa wife, kings Bharṭṛihari and Vikrama by the Kshattriya wife, Harichandra and Śaṅku by the Vaiśya wife and Amara by the Śūdra wife.

This floating verse at best can be used to establish the contemporaneity of these celebrities, but cannot be made a ground for taking them all as sons of Śabara-svāmin. Vikramāditya's father is known to be Samudra Gupta and he cannot, under any circumstances, be identified with Śabarasvāmin, the author of the celebrated *Śābara-Bhāṣya*.

Śaṅku may, however, be tentatively identified with Śaṅkuka referred to by Keith whose earlier work on poetics was the basis of the *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahiman Bhaṭṭa who flourished about 1050 A. D. and who stated that "inference was sufficient explanation of the enjoyment of poetry".

On the other hand, Śaṅkuka is known to have criticized the views of Lollaṭa on Rasa and was perhaps a younger contemporary of Lollaṭa, for his poem *Bhuvanābhyaśaya* was composed during the reign of king Ajitāpīḍa of Kashmir (814-851 A. D.). The fourth Gem Śaṅku should not be confounded with this later Śaṅkuka¹.

On the whole, amongst the Nine Gems, Śaṅku's lustre at the present moment seems to be the most clouded.

1. For confirmation and further information see *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya* by S.C. De, P. 27 and M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. 739 and Note 1.

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THE FIFTH GEM VETĀLABHAṬṬA

Vetālabhaṭṭa or the 'goblin Pandit' is really a funny name for a learned man to possess, and it is no wonder that the historical aspect of the person is soon mixed up with fantastic stories connected with ghosts, goblins and a host of other supernatural beings. And since Vikramāditya was connected with Vetālabhaṭṭa, all varieties of ghost stories gathered round the name of Vikramāditya and his reign. According to the *Devichandragupta* quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* Chandra Gupta retired with his friend Ātreya at dead of night to a solitary place with the object of propitiating Vetāla. Vetālabhaṭṭa thus may be the person who by his secret undertakings like Bhūta Sādhana, Pisācha Sādhana, and the like, tried to help the powerful but abjectly superstitious prince of the hillman tribe in gaining the throne which must have then been occupied by his incompetent brother Rāma Gupta for a very short time¹.

Vetālabhaṭṭa may be the author of some works which were used as a kernel in the composition of such fantastic works like the *Vetālapañchaviṃśatikā*. Vetālabhaṭṭa is also associated with the Mahākāla-Smaśāna of Ujjayinī. He is reported to have declared that Vikramāditya annihilated the Asuras and demons who had assumed the form of Mlechchhas².

Vetāla is represented as an elder contemporary of Pravarasena and the poet Menṭha who was examined at a poets' examination at Ujjayinī³.

From a few references to Vetālabhaṭṭa left to us, we may conclude that he was respected by king

1. See IC, Vol. VI, Pp. 381-2 where Mr. Dikshit quotes from the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and gives an account of this Gem.

2. IC, Vol. VI, P. 282.

3. *Ibid.*

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Vikramāditya because of his special powers apparently acquired through some kind of Sādhana connected with goblins and Piśāchas. He appears to have been a Vetāla-Siddha having obtained super-normal powers, and may have been a Tāntric expert to the government of Vikramāditya. Since Vetālabhaṭṭa had spirits under his control, he was not only feared but was also able to help Vikramāditya considerably through supernatural agencies. He may have composed some works with goblins and their activities as their subject matter, and thus in course of time passed out from the world of reality to the position of semi-divine being.

If an astrologer like Varāhamihira could be considered as a Gem, I do not see any reason why a person having a command over supernatural beings cannot be considered likewise. In the absence of more definite information, Vetālabhaṭṭa for the present may be taken as a Gem in the court of Vikramāditya in charge of what may be called supramundane activities and as an expert of the Tantras.

THE SIXTH GEM GHATAKARPARA

Fortunately we possess a slightly better information on this Gem who, again, goes by the strange name of Ghatakarpara or 'potsherd' which is actually mentioned in a short work ascribed to him. It is a lyric poem of a very artificial character of twenty-two stanzas and is marked by the use of Yamakas¹.

In this small poem Ghatakarpara describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey to her departed and distant, very distant lover.

1. S. C. De : *Kāldāsa and Vikramāditya*, P. 27.

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In the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa the poet used inanimate objects as the messenger of love and dealt with the subject with consummate skill in the most advanced and attractive manner. But it is quite possible that Ghaṭakarpara conceived the idea earlier than Kālidāsa, since Ghaṭakarpara's work is neither very elaborate nor so well conceived as Kālidāsa's.

Ghaṭakarpara's name is obtained from a verse in which he vows that to him who would excel him in Yamaka he would bear the pots of water. His poem is free and exquisite, and the style, sweetness, selection of words and effect produced on the mind bear a stamp of the age of the Vikrama renaissance.

The high esteem in which Ghaṭakarpara was held is seen by a large number of commentaries that have been written on his short work by Abhinavagupta, Bharatamallika, Śaṅkara, Govardhana, Kamalākara, Kuśalakavi, Vaidyanātha and a host of others too numerous to mention.

Another work *Nṛisāra* is attributed to Ghaṭakarpara. The work is in twenty-one verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. Madana's *Kṛishṇalīlā* (Saṃvat 1680) consists of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghaṭakarpara, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse from Ghaṭakarpara¹.

Ghaṭakarpara may have written many more works to make him famous as a Gem, but we have sufficient traces to show that his fame in the court of Vikrama was well deserved.

1. For a complete and detailed account of this Gem see Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. 316f. and footnotes.

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THE SEVENTH GEM KĀLIDĀSA

The seventh Gem in the court of Vikramāditya is reputed to be Kālidāsa who may easily be regarded as the most lustrous among the Nine. Kālidāsa is easily the greatest and the best national poet of India, and his works both in the original and in translations have brought solace and joy to the minds of the intelligentsia of the whole world. The conquests of Kālidāsa over the minds of the people embrace the whole globe, and his achievements are greater than those of the greatest conquerors. Of Kālidāsa every Indian is proud.

The evidence of Kālidāsa being honoured by Vikramāditya Śakāri comes from Abhinanda, the court poet of the Pāla king of Bengal Devapāla (c. 815-854)¹. Abhinanda in his great work *Rāmacharita* testifies to the fact that Kālidāsa's works were given the highest encomiums by Śakāri the enemy of the Śakas². Thus, no doubt, needs be entertained regarding the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with the great king Vikramāditya.

That Kālidāsa was connected with Ujjayini, the capital of Vikramāditya in the west, is evidenced by Rājasekhara who in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*³ gives us the interesting information that Kālidāsa was examined at Viśālā at a poets' examination.

Some of the manuscripts of the commentary on the *Setubandha-Kāvya* record an ancient tradition that the

1. This date for Devapāla is taken, along with others, from the authoritative work of H. C. Ray entitled *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, P. 384.

2. K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri, ed: *Rāmacharita* of Abhinanda (GOS), Chap. XXII, Verse 100—

'Khyātim kām api Kālidāsakritayo nitāḥ Śakārātinā.'

3. Op. cit. 3rd edition by K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri, P. 55 and Introduction, P. xxxvii.

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Kāvya was written for king Pravarasena by Kālidāsa at an express order of king Vikramāditya¹.

A few quotations available from the now lost work *Kuntaleśvaradautya* record an interesting tradition that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of the Kuntala king. It further adds that Kālidāsa was not received kindly at first by the king and was not offered a seat. Kālidāsa was thus obliged to sit on the ground, but he did it gracefully and the Śloka he composed on the occasion is preserved. The mission of Kālidāsa, however, proved ultimately successful, and this gave great satisfaction both to the Kuntala king and his master Vikramāditya, as we know from the extracts from the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* still preserved in *Alaṅkāra* works². It is unfortunate that the work composed by Kālidāsa is now no longer extant in full, but there is enough remnant left to prove the veracity of the above statement.

Kālidāsa displays in his *Meghadūta* great fondness for Ujjayinī, the capital of Vikrama, and shows his partiality for the city by devoting no less than thirteen stanzas to it in the poem. Kālidāsa's works amply prove the fact that he was acquainted with the topography of Malwa in its minutest detail and thus indirectly revealed that he was a native of Malwa³.

1. Compare "Iha tāvat mahārāja-Pravarasenanimittam mahārājādhirāja-Vikramādityeṇājñapto nikhilakavichakrachūḍāmaṇiḥ Kālidāsa-mahāśayaḥ Setubandhaprabandham chikirshuḥ." For detailed information please refer to the excellent and well documented paper entitled *King Pravarasena and Kālidāsa* by K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri in the *Proceedings* of the Seventh Oriental Conference, Pp. 99ff.

2. For a fuller treatment of the topic please refer to the Notes of K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri on *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (GOS), Pp. 214ff.

3. S. C. De : *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya*, P. 171. H.P. Shastri's opinion was the same in *JBORS*, Vol. I, P. 211.

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Kālidāsa in a solitary stanza (No. 47) describes Daśapura and its female beauties, and in doing so uses the significant expression “parichita-bhrūlatā-vibhramāṇām” suggesting that in his young age Kālidāsa was very familiar with the coquettish motions of the eyes as displayed by the Daśapura belles. This familiarity of rather an intimate type coupled with various other circumstantial evidences led MM. H. P. Shastri to conclude that Kālidāsa was born and spent his boyhood at Daśapura or some place near it¹.

Scholars who discover in the 14th stanza of the *Meghadūta* a reference to Diñnāga and Nichula-Kavi are not wrong in their assumption, and it is quite possible that all of them were contemporaries².

Kālidāsa not only was a contemporary of Vikramāditya but he must have out-lived him to see the reign of his son Kumāra Gupta (414-456 A. D.) whose birth may have been commemorated by the composition of the *Kumārāsambhava*. But it is very doubtful whether Kālidāsa was living in the reign of Skanda Gupta (456-481 A. D.) who does not appear to be alluded to in his many works. Kālidāsa has indeed referred to a statue of Skanda, but this should not necessarily represent king Skanda Gupta³. It should be taken as a statue of the War-lord Skanda who must have been a favourite of the warrior king Vikramāditya.

It is hardly necessary here to disprove the theory of MM. H. P. Shastri who makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana who flourished in the first and second quarters of the sixth century A.D.

1. *JBORS*, Vol. I, P. 212.

2. See the discussion on the subject by S. K. Dikshit in *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 383f.

3. As has been taken by H. P. Shastri in *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 40.

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This Yaśodharman¹ is neither a Vikramāditya nor a Śākāri. He defeated the Hūṇas and, therefore, he may be described as a Hūṇāri but not a Śākāri. In spite of his great vauntings about his own prowess he does not appear to me to be a great king with extensive dominions. Yaśodharman is not glorified and lionised by any poet except those composing his inscriptions. One of his inscriptions is dated 589 Mālava era corresponding to A. D. 533-4 when the seventh or the last Imperial Gupta king Kumāra Gupta II Vikramāditya was ruling, perhaps before Yaśodharman's very nose at his nearby capital of Ujjayinī. We have evidence² that this king ruled till 565 A. D. and was served by Bhaṭṭārka from whom the Valabhī dynasty started.

Kālidāsa in accordance with the convention of his age described the seasons in his *Ritusamhāra*, although such descriptions are not only numerous but also dramatic and gorgeous in almost all his compositions. As the writers of the Mālava inscriptions of the same age have all described the seasons almost without exception, Kālidāsa can easily fit in with the traditions of Malwa poets in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era³ and later.

Kālidāsa is reputed to be the author of the seven works *Ritusamhāra*, *Meghadūta*, *Vikramorvaśīya*, *Śākuntala*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Raghuvamśa*. It is a modern fashion to attribute the *Setubandha-*

1. "Kālidāsa—His Age" in *JBORS*, Vol. II, Pp. 31-44.

2. See my recent article entitled "New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas" in the *Journal of Sir Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*. This time-period is assigned on the authority of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. "Vijityeśānavarmādīn Bhaṭṭārkeṇānusevitah/ Chatuśchat-vārimśad eva samā bhokshyati medinīm||"—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, P. civ.

3. *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 33.

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Kāvya and now lost work *Kuntaleśvaradautya* also to his authorship¹.

Kālidāsa did not make the slightest attempt to display his knowledge like his compatriot Bhavabhūti. But his learning must have been phenomenal². He knew the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Kāmasāstra, the Alaṅkāra and Nāṭya Śāstras, Dharmaśāstra, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Dhanurveda, Ayurveda, Vyākaraṇa, history, geography of India and outside India, Yoga, Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, astronomy, astrology and horoscopy. He knew the Greek astrological authors and used Greek terms in his compositions. He was an educationist and intellectualist, rather than a moralist. His sole purpose in writing his works was the glorification of Brāhmaṇism. The sanctity of the Brāhmaṇa and the cow is the key-note of this Brāhmaṇism. MM. Shastri believed that Kālidāsa was himself a Brāhmaṇa, probably a Daśapura or Dassarā Brāhmaṇa.

Much has already been written on Kālidāsa and his works, and by many scholars of great celebrity and authority³. It is not necessary to quote their opinions and repeat them here in order to give further biographical details of Kālidāsa. I would, however, draw the attention of scholars to three excellent articles on Kālidāsa, his home, his age and the chronology of his works contributed by MM. H. P. Shastri to *JBORS*, Vol. I, Pp. 197-212, Vol. II, Pp. 31-44 and 179-189. These articles can be read both for pleasure and profit.

1. See *Supra*.

2. For Kālidāsa's learning and education, see *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 184f.

3. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Pp. 99-125 and footnotes. Here the views of great scholars have been summarised and criticized.

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THE EIGHTH GEM VARĀHAMIHIRA

Varāhamihira is reputed to be the eighth Gem in the court of Vikramāditya, and the lustre of this Gem is not a whit less bright than that of the Gem just described. Varāhamihira calls himself an Āvantika or the resident of Avanti in his *Bṛihajjāta*¹. Bhaṭṭotpala, the great commentator of Varāhamihira's works, calls him an Āchārya and describes him as a Magadha-dvija or a Brāhmaṇa of Magadha and as having received a boon from the Sun-god². Varāhamihira also describes himself as the son of Ādityadāsa and as having received his education from him and as having composed his work in the village of Kapittha³. That mischievous floating verse already referred to makes Varāhamihira the son of Śa-barasvāmin by his Brāhmaṇa wife⁴. These are the only biographical details about him. If we believe in Bhaṭṭotpala, Varāhamihira belonged originally to Magadha⁵ and must have come to Ujjayinī along with Vikramāditya in his western conquests. That will be a sane view, because, as we can imagine, Vikramāditya does not seem to be one to begin military operations without the advice of a master astrologer like Varāhamihira. Some consider 'Magadha-dvija' as an error for 'Maga-dvija' and thus consider him as a Maga Brāhmaṇa or a Magi priest. But here it can only be pointed out that if the manuscripts show 'Magadha' it will be prudent to leave it at that and not change it to 'Maga'. If we adopt this as a principle, many fantastic speculations will automatically disappear from the field of Indian research.

1. *Bṛihajjāta*, Chap. xxviii, Verse 9—Āvantiko munimatāny avalokya samyak.

2. *Bhaṭṭotpalavivṛiti* on *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, P. 2. "tad ayam apy' āvantikā chārya-Magadha-dvija-Varāhamihira' rkalabdhavaraprasādaḥ."

3. *Bṛihajjāta*, Chap. xxviii, Verse 9.

4. See *Supra*.

5. According to Al-Beruni he belonged to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra. See Weber : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 258.

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Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. I am afraid this view will have to be taken as correct, at least for the time being, in view of the other associations of his with Ujjayinī and Nine Gems.

It is also said that as Varāhamihira quotes the opinion of Āryabhaṭa, whose date has been fixed by Fleet at 499 A. D. and whose birth has been put down by Kern to 476 A. D., he must belong to a later period, say the sixth century A. D.¹ If Varāhamihira dies in 451 he cannot conceivably get a chance of quoting Āryabhaṭa who is born in 476 A. D. Therefore, it must be clearly understood that Varāhamihira had nothing to do with the composition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in which Āryabhaṭa is quoted. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of Varāhamihira, has commented on two of his works *Bṛhajjātaka* and *Bṛhatsamhitā* but not on the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. The obvious reason is that he never considered the last named work as belonging to the same authorship. It is further to be noted that out of the three works attributed to Varāhamihira, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the *Bṛhajjātaka* belong to one class, astrology, while the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* belongs to another class, higher mathematics and astronomy. This very fact should make us pause before we attribute all the three works to one authorship. As a matter of fact, G. Thibaut in his introduction to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*² has already referred to two Varāhamihiras, although not on identical ground. The tradition among the astronomers of Ujjayinī also was that there were two Varāhamihiras and that the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* at least was the work of the second Varāhamihira³.

1. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, Pp. 76 and 78

2. See Introduction, P xxviii, last line.

3. Colebrooke : *Algebra*, P. xxxiii, where a list of astrologers given by the Pandits of Ujjayinī was published.

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Varāhamihira appears to me to be the royal astrologer in the court of Vikramāditya, and as such he was a practical man and needed only such knowledge as would help the king, the State and the people. The higher mathematics and astronomy are necessary only for scholars and theoretical men. In the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* Varāhamihira dealt with mundane astrology¹ in all its various ramifications, and showed how the planets, their colour, their motion, their declinations and latitudes, their retrograde and direct movements, the seasons, the eclipses and occultations, etc., affect mankind, the State and the king. He showed the way how to anticipate calamities and visitations of nature and man, and what precautions should be taken to tide over these difficulties.

Similarly, in the *Bṛihajjātaka*, Varāhamihira treats of personal horoscopy showing the possibilities of advancement, longevity, ups and downs of life, planetary combinations, favourable or adverse, and planetary periods and sub-periods and various cognate topics in the case of an individual. He shows also how the twelve signs reside in the body and what particular physical processes are governed by the planets. These are great works, marvellous works, the likes of which are not likely to be produced again. Be that as it may, they are practical works designed to benefit humanity. But when we look to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* we find that it is not a practical work; it is a work for the experts; it is a comparative study of the five schools of calculations;

1. On this subject there are only a few works in Sanskrit. The chief among them are the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, King Vallāla Sena's *Adbhutaśāgara*, and the Jain *Meghamahodaya*. The voluminous work of Vallāla (1185 A. D.) shows how the Indian kings considered this class of astrology as of great practical value to the State. It is said Lakshmana Sena knew that the country would pass into the hands of the Mlechchhas, from the stars.

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it is a scholastic work for the edification of the Pandits and the highbrows. At least in this, there is a difference between the two classes of works attributed to Varāhamihira. The authorship must be taken as different if there is a chronological difficulty of any kind. Thus the conclusion seems to be irresistible that Varāhamihira who composed the *Bṛihatsamhitā* and the *Bṛihajjātaka* was a contemporary of Vikramāditya and that he died in 451 A. D.

In this connection another fact may be noted. Varāhamihira is quoted in the *Pañchatantra* and this latter work was translated into Pehlevi in the reign of Shah Khusru Nushirvan (531-579 A. D.)¹. As books in that hoary old age never used to be translated into foreign languages immediately after publication, an allowance has to be made for the *Pañchatantra* to become famous, and an additional amount of time to allow Varāhamihira to acquire fame in order to be quoted by the author of the *Pañchatantra*. If these allowances are made on a liberal scale, Varāha's time will coincide with that of Vikramāditya.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihatsamhitā* has made appreciative remarks about the Yavana astrologers, and said that they were great exponents of the science and received the same respect as shown to ancient seers². Varāhamihira must have had a good knowledge of the Greek language, Greek authors and Greek astrology and astronomy, and this is more than proved by the fact that he has used no less than thirty-six Greek technical terms in his works after Sanskritizing them³. The terms

1. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 88.

2. *Bṛihatsamhitā*, Chap. II, Verse 14.

Mlechchhā hi yavanās teshu samyak śāstram idam sthitam/
Rishivat te'pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijah//

3. For a list of such words, see Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften* Vol. IV, P. 94.

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like Anaphā, Sunaphā, Duradhurā, Kemadruma, Heli, Āpoklima, Paṇaphara clearly bear the stamp of Greek origin on them.

Varāhamihira has quoted liberally the opinions of previous authorities in his works. All these references have been collected by Kern in his introduction to the English translation of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*¹. Among them, we notice the interesting names of Satya, Siddhasena, Bādarāyaṇa and Maṇittha who are described as Kāla-tantra Kavis in the court of Vikramāditya by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*². Varāhamihira's testimony gives a curious confirmation to the statement of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa.

One of the great and permanent contributions to mundane astrology by Varāhamihira consists in the *Ashṭakavarga* for the preparation of which he has given ample directions³. This *Ashṭakavarga* system will keep the science of astrology living for ever, because by this method alone it is possible to determine by a number the strength of all the planets in their own houses, negative and positive signs, in the Kendras and Trikoṇas and so forth. When once the strength of the planet is known by a number, it is possible to anticipate its effect in transit. The planets to be true, predictions based on their movements must necessarily be true. Astrology as it is practised to-day in India is a dead science. *Ashṭakavarga* alone can make it living again.

1. For a comprehensive list see Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 95.

2. See *Supra*.

3. *Bṛihajjātaka*, Chap. ix. For *Ashṭakavarga* calculations, calculating machines have been prepared. With the help of this one horoscope can be calculated in less than five minutes. For directions see Subrahmanya Shastri's edition of *Bṛihajjātaka*, P. 212.

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Some of his observations on the effects of planets on earth are very reliable, and sooner these are studied the better it would be for all of us, the ruler and the ruled. Varāhamihira observed that Saturn moving and retrograding in the seven lunar mansions beginning from Kṛittikā and ending in Āśleshā brings about terrible famines, wars and other national disasters¹. These observations have come out true in the past, and they are still coming out true at this very moment when this paper is being written on the 24th December 1943. Varāhamihira's prediction has never been more thoroughly confirmed than in the present times. At this time Saturn is moving and is retrograding in the constellation of Mṛigaśīras which is only the third from Kṛittikā, and its disastrous effect can be seen in the famine, the war and visitations of nature that are now raging.

In some respects Varāhamihira's services to the country and mankind in general are greater than those of the other Gems in the court of Vikramāditya. All honour to him.

THE NINTH GEM VARARUCHI

We have some information regarding Vararuchi the ninth and the last Gem in the list of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. That Vararuchi was connected with Vikramāditya is testified to by the author himself who refers to the king in his *Patrakaummudī* and says that under the reputed king Vikramāditya's instructions he composed the work².

1. *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, Chapter 36, Verse 13—

प्रागद्वारेषु चरन् रविपुत्रो नक्षत्रेषु करोति च वक्रम् ।

दुर्भिक्षं कुस्ते महदुग्रं मित्राणां च विरोधमवृष्टिम् ॥

Here 'Prāgdvāra' is explained by Bhaṭṭotpala as seven Nakshatras beginning with Kṛittikā.

2. Dikshit: *IC*, Vol VI, P. 379f. Cf.,

विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य कीतिसिद्धेर्निदेशतः ।

श्रीमान् वररुचिर्धर्मान् तनोति पत्रकौमुदीम् ॥

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Vararuchi's *bhāgineya* (sister's son) was the great Su-bandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, who was also in the court of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī¹. Thus Vararuchi's connection with Ujjayinī is also to a certain extent established.

S. N. Mitra has discovered a manuscript which throws additional light on the connection of Vararuchi with king Vikramāditya. This is the manuscript of the long lost *Vidyāsundara*. It is entitled *Vidyāsundara Upākhyāna* and is written in a strange admixture of Bengali and Devanāgarī alphabets. The author is mentioned as Vararuchi who, according to the last colophon, composed it under the instruction of Vikramāditya who is described as the great lord of the entire Mahī-Manḍala².

Vararuchi should not be confounded with the grammarian Vararuchi who flourished even before the time of Patañjali. According to Rājasekhara the grammarian Vararuchi was examined at Pāṭaliputra at a scholars' examination (*Sāstrakāra-parīkshā*)³.

With Vararuchi the ninth Gem my task is done. May the example of Vikramāditya and the Nine Gems be a source of perennial inspiration to my countrymen and enthuse them with a sense of national glory and national pride.

May Ujjayinī again be the fountain head of national culture and national scholarship to teach the world the noble and the glorious art of living.

1. See Gray : *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction, P. 6.

2. Dikshit : *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 380. Also *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, Pp. 216-218. The wording of the last colophon is :—

इति समस्तमहीमण्डलाधिपमहाराजाविक्रमादित्यनिदेशलब्ध-श्रीमन्महापण्डित-
वररुचि-विरचितं विद्यासुन्दरप्रसङ्गकाव्यं समाप्तम् ।

3. *Kāvyaśikṣasā*, 3rd edition, P. 65.

VIKRAMADITYA AND THE VIKRAMA ERA

By

HARIHAR NIVAS DVIVEDI, Gwalior

The Vikrama Era started to commemorate the "Vikrama" or the great deed of valour performed in the remote past by our ancestors has completed two millenniums of its history. The stage to which its long march of years has brought us may not present a very happy picture; yet if we calmly retrospect and look back sufficiently far, we cannot fail to catch a glimpse of that glorious past of this ancient land from which we have inherited that great cultural heritage which has enabled us to hold our heads high in the galaxy of nations. The two thousand years of this era that have passed belong comparatively to the time of the later Indian History, when the age of the pure Vedic civilization, the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the period of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the reign of the all-powerful Chandragupta Maurya and the empire of piety of the Great Aśoka and the tales of the conquests of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga had already become things of the past, when many Indian colonies founded beyond the seas had already sunk into oblivion, when the Vedas,

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the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Smṛitis had been reduced into writing. Yet even during the span of these two thousand years, Indian valour, genius and wisdom had reached such a high water-mark that they could well vie with the achievements of the hoary past.

While the first Vikrama Millennium witnessed the crumbling of the foreign powers before the might and bravery of Bhāraṣiva Nāga, Yaśodharman, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Skandagupta, the poetic genius of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the super-human magical glamour of Śaṅkarācārya and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, and the birth of the great Rajput community, the second millennium showed that we could sustain defeats and bear their grim consequences without much loss of our inherent strength and stamina. The troubled times through which we have passed bear testimony to the fact that we are made up of the stuff which knows sacrifice and have shown it whenever occasion has demanded it. That we continue to exist as a nation notwithstanding our social differences of caste and creed shows that there is some thing great behind our civilization which has not allowed our vitals to be eaten up, whereas many other ancient nations of the world are even completely wiped out of the globe.

It is a matter of great pride to the lovers and admirers of Indian civilization that an era in India is probably the oldest of the current eras and when it has completed two thousand years of its long existence it is but natural for us that on such historic and important occasion while celebrating this grand festival light is also thrown on the material available regarding the Vikrama Era and its founder the victorious Vikramāditya.

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA ERA

REVIEW OF VARIOUS THEORIES

The story of the investigation of the Vikrama problem in Indian History is in itself very interesting. It is necessary to examine the various theories propounded by the eminent explorers in the field of Indian Antiquity regarding the starting and the founder of the Vikrama Era and proof of the historicity of Vikramāditya.

The commencement of the era is an event which a historian cannot deny, however great a disbeliever he may be in the past greatness of India. Who can disown the fact of the beginning of a Saṃvat which has had such a long and continuous existence? What better proof can there be of the fact that a person was sometimes born than the fact that he is living to-day? Similarly no extraneous evidence is required to prove the age of an era.

The Vikrama Saṃvat has, however, had to face some strange and interesting theories. In 1870 Fergusson¹ put up the suggestion that the Vikrama Era was set up in 544 A. D. and not in 58-57 B. C. According to him a ruler of the name or title of Vikramāditya defeated the Hūṇas in 544 A. D. and in commemoration of this victory set up the Vikrama Era and, with a view to embellishing it with a halo of antiquity, antedated its beginning by 600 years. What queerer idea than this could be conceived? In the beginning this suggestion did not attract much attention, but when later on, while extolling the genius of Fergusson, Maxmüller² upheld this peculiar conception, the theory that this Saṃvat was not two thousand years old began to gain more currency. Fortunately, however, this opinion could

1. *J R A S.*, 1870, P 81

2. *India : What it can teach us ?*, P. 280

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not hold firm ground for long. Fergusson's palace of imagery was blown away with the discovery of the inscriptions¹ which contained references to the Vikrama Saṁvat prior even to 544 A. D.

The opinions of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar² and Vincent Smith³ are no less interesting, though not so strange as that of Fergusson. According to them, originally this Saṁvat was current as Mālava Saṁvat and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who held the title of Vikramāditya renamed it as Vikrama Saṁvat. The supporters of this theory are to be found even to this day, but it has to be borne in mind that separate Gupta Era of the Gupta dynasty had already been in vogue and that Chandragupta II himself never made use of the Saṁvat alleged to be founded by him⁴.

Not only have there been made such attempts to cut short the age of the Vikrama Era, but doubts have also been expressed of the very fact of Vikramāditya being its founder.

Kielhorn⁵ holds quite radical views on the point. He maintains that neither was there any ruler of the name of Vikramāditya in the year 57 B. C., nor did any person set up this Saṁvat. He holds that the word 'Vikrama' connotes the period of war; as the Mālava Saṁvat begins from the autumn season, the time for the monarchs to start upon their military expeditions,

1. See Appendix to this article.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, P. 398.

3. *Early History of India*, third edition, P. 290.

4. Along with this, the opinion of some other scholars may also be mentioned, who hold that Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty is the very Vikramāditya who set up the Vikrama Saṁvat and that his time was 1st century B. C. instead of the 4th century A. D. But this theory has been subjected to so little examination that it can be regarded neither as proved nor as disproved.

5. *I. A.*, Vols. 19 and 20.

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this Mālava Saṁvat was denominated as Vikrama Saṁvat. There are a number of difficulties in accepting this theory. In the first place "Valour" and "War" do not mean the same thing, and, secondly, Vikrama Saṁvat does not begin everywhere in India from the autumn season.

Cunningham¹ and Marshall², too, have advanced their respective theories. According to both of them, the ruler who set up this era did not bear the name of Vikramāditya. Cunningham bestows its authorship upon Kanishka of the Kushāna dynasty. This opinion has been subjected to much critical examination and many authorities on the subject have written for or against it³. Sir John Marshall has, however, conclusively proved that the time of Kanishka was 78 A. D. and not 57 B.C. Cunningham's theory was thus exploded. But then Marshall's theory began to gain ground. He held that the commencement of the Vikrama Era was made by the Śaka ruler Azes of Gandhāra. This opinion, too, is without any foundation. It has been established that the Saṁvat set up by Azes bore his own name while Vikrama Saṁvat was current as "Kṛita" or "Mālava" Saṁvat. Moreover a Saṁvat started by a foreign ruler in a remote corner of India could not engender in itself a sentiment of victory over foreigners.

Some other theories besides these were also sponsored. According to one of them the Mālava warrior Yaśodharman⁴ set up this Saṁvat. Another one gives its authorship to Pushyamitra Śuṅga⁵. Dr. K. P.

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, P. 627.

2. *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, P. 973, and 1915, P. 191.

3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1913.

4. Hoernle's view in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, P. 545, and 1909, Pp. 89 ff.

5. Dr. Beni Prasad in *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, Saṁvat 1990.

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Jayaswal¹ holds that this era was started by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. He has identified the Vikramāditya of Jain tradition with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of history and has thus tried to effect co-ordination between tradition and history. The learned Doctor has based his theory on two grounds. Firstly, all the attainments attributed to Vikramāditya were possessed by Gautamīputra; in the Nāsik inscription mother Gautamī has attributed all those to her son Śātakarṇi. Secondly, Śātakarṇi had defeated some Śaka ruler. This suggestion has been approved of by many scholars. But, in the first place, it is not as yet proved that the Śakas defeated by a Śātakarṇi were the same who held Ujjain under their domination, nor is this fact proved that Gautamīputra's victory had taken place in the 1st century B. C. Secondly, the lengthy inscription describing so many attainments of Gautamīputra contains no clear reference to the title "Vikramāditya".

Dr. A. S. Altekar² is one of those who do not believe in the Vikrama Era being founded by any person named Vikramāditya. He holds that the original name of the Vikrama Era is "Kṛita" which was so named to commemorate the victory of the Commander-in-Chief of Mālava Gaṇa named "Kṛita" over the Śakas. Though he has held the verses referring to Vikramāditya contained in the Kālakāchārya story as interpolated and disbelieves the Jain tradition, yet he writes :—

"Now it may also be conceded that the ruler of the name 'Kṛita' who set up this Saṃvat may have possessed the alias of 'Vikramāditya.'"³

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol 16, Parts III and IV, Pp. 226-316. Also see *I. A.*, Vol 47, P 112, where he writes "The theory or rather the mythology about the non-existence of Vikrama circulated by early Indianists in their imperfect knowledge is fit to be given up".

2. *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, Saṃvat 2000, P. 77

3. *Ibid.*

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But if so much could be conceded, there are definite reasons to believe the existence in 57 B. C. of a Commander-in-Chief or ruler of Mālava Gaṇa named Vikramāditya.

THE TESTIMONY OF INSCRIPTIONS

After reviewing all these theories, we next take up the examination of the inscriptions bearing the date in Vikrama Era and mentioning its name in various forms. Vikrama Era is the main argument that proves the existence of Vikramāditya. The manner in which this era is mentioned in the earlier inscriptions throws great light on the Vikrama problem in Indian History. For this purpose a list of all the inscriptions bearing the name of this era is appended hereto. A study of this list reveals the following facts :—

- (1) In the inscriptions dated upto 461 A.D., this era is named as “Kṛita”.
- (2) After 461 A. D., this era is named as “Mālava Saṁvat”. In the Mandasor inscription of 461 A. D. both the names “Mālava” and “Kṛita” have been used.
- (3) In the Dhīnīki inscription of 794 A. D. this era is for the first time mentioned as Vikrama Era. But this plate is proved to be forged¹. Hence the first authoritative mention of this era is in the Dholpur inscription of 898 A. D.
- (4) Territorially, the names ‘Mālava’ and ‘Kṛita’ are used in Udaipur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bharatpur, Mandasor and Jhalawar. The name ‘Vikrama’ is used in the whole of India.

1. E. J., Vol. XXVI, P. 189.

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The Mandasor inscriptions of V. S. 461 and 493 prove it beyond doubt that 'Kṛita', 'Mālava' and 'Vikrama' are the names of the one and the same era.

In order to understand the meaning and significance of the word 'Kṛita' the following texts of the various inscriptions may be usefully read together :—

- (1) Śrī (r-m) Mālavaganāmnāte praśaste Kṛita-samjñite (Mandasor, V. S. 461).
- (2) Mālavānām gaṇasthityā (Mandasor, V. S. 493)
- (3) Vikhyāpake Mālavavamśakīrteḥ (Mandasor, V. S. 524).
- (4) Mālavaganasthitivaśāt kālajñānāya (Mandasor, V. S. 589).
- (5) Samvatsara.....Mālaveśānām (Kanaswa, V. S. 795).
- (6) Mālavakālāch chharadām (Gyaraspur, V. S. 936).

These readings show the facts that (a) the era is founded by a ruler of Malwa (Mālaveśa), (b) the Mālava-vamśa was established (or restored) by this ruler and the era was founded to commemorate that event, and (c) this Mālava Era is also called Kṛita. All these would give an aggregate reading as follows :—

“The ruler of Mālava performed an act which enhanced the glory of the Mālava-vamśa, assured the existence of the Mālava clan or its restoration, and to commemorate that ‘act’ (Kṛita) this era was founded.”

This clearly reveals the meaning of the word 'Kṛita'. It is definitely not a proper name, but denotes the action of some person. Who this person was is

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clearly denoted by the following texts of the inscriptions bearing the name of the era as 'Vikrama' :—

- (1) Kālasya Vikramākhyasya (Dholpur, 898).
- (2) Vikramādityabhūbhṛtaḥ (Udaipur, 1028).
- (3) Vikramādityakāle (Vasantagadh, 1099).
- (4) Vatsarair Vikramādityaiḥ (Tilakwada, 1103)
- (5) Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditasamvatsara (Navsari, 1131).
- (6) Śrī-Vikramārkanṛipakālātītasamvatsaraṇām (Gwalior, 1161).
- (7) Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditātītasamvatsara (Jodhpur, 1176).

One thing that can be seen from these texts is that as early as the 9th century of the Vikrama Era the name of the Mālava ruler was taken to be Vikramāditya. Both these sets of readings would thus mean that the leader of the Mālava clan named Vikramāditya performed the above-mentioned act (Kṛita) which enhanced the glory of the Mālavas and assured their existence and continuity.

The territorial distribution of these inscriptions is no less significant. The names 'Mālava' and 'Kṛita' are used in Malwa or in the territory near about Malwa. It is just possible that the oligarchical Mālava tribe might have preferred to attach more importance to the name of their clan, while the monarchical territories outside might have preferred to use not the name of the clan but of its leader Vikramāditya. He might have also gathered other people under the Mālava banner for expelling the common foe, the Śakas (the fact denoted by 'Āmnāya').

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The main reason for the formation of different theories mentioned above is said to be that no coins or inscriptions bearing the name of any Vikramāditya belonging to 57 B. C. have been found. This had led to the denial of the very existence of Vikramāditya so well established in Indian tradition. The scholars who have attempted to remould Indian History have tried to strangulate Vikramāditya for the mere offence that they could not discover his coins or inscriptions, though the stories of his bravery are to be heard even in the remotest corners of India, just like those of Rāma and Kṛishṇa. Coins and inscriptions no doubt can form irrefutable proofs of the existence of a particular ruler, but their absence need not mean the non-existence of any personage. How much portion of the vast ocean of Indian Archaeology has as yet been explored? Particularly Malwa and Ujjain, the seat of Vikrama, are yet practically untouched. It is possible that an exploration in this direction may yield some fruitful results. Hence the mere absence of coins and inscriptions should not lead one to disbelieve Indian tradition.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN INDIAN TRADITION

Indian tradition adds valuable details to the very sketchy and rough outline of Vikramāditya presented by the texts of the inscriptions mentioned above. A passing reference to some of the most important of these is being made below.

The oldest of the references to Vikramāditya is contained in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* written for Hāla, the ruler of Paiṭhan, who lived in the 1st century A. D. The verse in the *Saptasatī* containing a reference to Vikrama is as under :—

Samvāhaṇasuharasatośīyeṇa dentena tuha kara
lakkhaṇa/

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Chalaṇeṇa Vikkamāittachariam aṇusikkhiam tissā //

This clearly shows that in the 1st century A. D. a tradition was prevalent that a brave and generous-hearted ruler named Vikramāditya had bestowed gifts of thousands on the needy. The date of the *Gāthāsaptāśatī* also has been a subject of keen controversy. Dr. Bhandarkar¹ has advanced a number of arguments to prove that the period of the writing of the *Gāthāsaptāśatī* is 600 A. D., but MM. G. H. Ojha² and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal³ have successfully refuted them.

The other tradition is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* written by Somadeva. This is based on the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, a contemporary of Sātavāhana Hāla, and hence has the support of a work of the 1st century of Vikrama Saṃvat. It, therefore, cannot be said to be unreliable. Now, according to this work, Vikramāditya was the ruler of Ujjain, his father's name being Mahendrāditya and that of his mother being Saumyadarśanā. Owing to the absence of any issue for a long time Mahendrāditya began the worship of Śiva. Just at this time fearing the down-fall of religion and the growing strength of the heretics, the gods prayed unto Mahādeva to lighten the burden of the earth. Thereupon Lord Śiva ordered one of his attendants Mālyavān (or the historically famous Mālavagana) to go to the earth, don the human form at his devotee Mahendrāditya's house and lighten the burden of the earth. Lord Śiva conferred upon Mahendrāditya the boon that a son would be born unto him and commanded him to name the child as Vikramāditya. In his description of this ruler Somadeva writes that he was "father unto the

1. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, P. 187.

2. *Prāchīna-Lipi-Mālā*, P. 168.

3. *J. A.*, Vol. 47, P. 112.

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fatherless, brother unto the brotherless, a protector of the unprotected and the whole and sole unto his subjects". (A description tallying with this one appears in the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*, in which Vikramāditya's father's name is given as Gandharvasena and that of his mother as Vīramatī; Śiva and his attendant deities are mentioned in the same manner as above, while Gandharvasena is mentioned to belong to the Paramāra dynasty.)

The third tradition is contained in the Jain writings. In the *Paṭṭāvalī* written by Merutuṅgāchārya it has been stated that in the year 470 of the Mahāvīra-Nirvāṇa Saṁvat Vikramāditya crushed the Śakas and set up a Saṁvat. This is further supported by the *Prabandhakōśa* as well as the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* written by Dhaneśvara Sūri. A description how the Śakas conquered Gardabhilla of Ujjain and how again they were ousted by Vikramāditya is found in the Jain writings.

The *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* describes the arrival of the Śakas in Malwa. According to it Kālakāchārya and his sister Sarasvatī, a Jain nun, were living in Ujjain where a ruler named Gardabhilla was ruling. One day on seeing Sarasvatī Gardabhilla's passions were inflamed, and, confining her in his palace, he made her a victim of his lust. Kālakāchārya made a number of efforts to free Sarasvatī, tried to persuade Gardabhilla, made humble requests to him, but all to no purpose. Being disappointed at last, Kālakāchārya took a vow to destroy the ruler and left for Sindh, where there reigned a number of Śaka rulers known as 'Śāhas' above whom there was an over-lord denominated as 'Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi'. Kālakāchārya approached one of these Śāhas and gained great influence over him. Later on, once the over-lord got angry with this Śāha as well as with a few others. Kālakā-

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chārya advised him along with others to undertake the invasion of Mālava. The Śāha, accompanied by others and making conquests on the way, came to Ujjain, defeated Gardabhilla and drove him away.

Sarasvatī was thus liberated ; Kālākāchārya began to lead a happy life, while Malwa was subjugated to foreign rule.

Sometime afterwards came to power Emperor Vikramāditya who exterminated the Śāhas and set up his own era. According to the *Paṭṭāvalī* Vikramāditya was Gardabhilla's son.

Besides these, there are other works such as *Vikramacharitra*, *Vetālapañchaviṃśati*, *Rājāvalī*, etc., which contain numerous tales and legends about Vikramāditya.

THE NINE GEMS

Tradition has attributed Nine Gems to the brilliant court of Vikramāditya. Like the title of Vikramāditya, this idea of decorating the grandeur of a ruler by the addition of the halo of the ministerial gems has also gained a deep root in Indian imagination. The Nava Ratans of the Moghul emperor Akbar or the Aṣṭa Pradhānas of Śivāji echo the age-old tradition of respecting the best talents of the court. But for a student of the historicity of Vikramāditya this idea of Nine Gems presents many difficult problems.

The verse enumerating the Nine Gems of Vikrama's court occurs in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of some Kālidāsa, which runs as follows :—

Dhanvantarikshapaṇakāmarasimhaśaṅku-
Vetālabhaṭṭaghaṭakharparakālidāsah /
Khyāto Varāhamihīro nṛpateḥ sabhāyām
Ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya //

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The exact date of these nine scholars is still undecided and the historians of today are not prepared either to take all these personalities as contemporaries or as existing in the court of Vikramāditya. This is no place to enter into a detailed discussion about all the nine persons mentioned above, but one thing can be stated here that the traditional relation of Vikrama and Kālidāsa is proved to be real. In a MS of *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*¹ (copied in Vikrama Samvat 1699) there appears to be a passage which indicates two things: (i) that the Vikramāditya mentioned there bore the name of Vikramāditya, while his title was Sāhasāṅka, and (ii) that he was the chief of the Mālava Gaṇas. In some old MSS of this drama, there is a mention that the play was staged before Vikramāditya. There are scholars who prove the age of Kālidāsa as 57 B. C. Of course, some of them hold that there were several poets of this name.

Though reasonable doubts have been cast on the authenticity of the *Jyotirvidābharana*, yet the tradition embodied in the verse mentioned above deserves the attention of Indian scholars, since its investigation may lead to useful results.

These Nine Gems might have or might not have illumined the court of Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. or the idea of tagging them together may even be a fine imagination of some ingenious brain sponsored after the completion of the first millennium of the Vikrama Era; yet one thing is certain that this cannot effect the historicity of Vikramāditya of 57 B. C., so well established in Indian tradition.

1. *Vikrama-Smṛti-Grantha*, P. 44.

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THE TITLE 'VIKRAMĀDITYA' AND ITS HOLDERS

The title 'Vikramāditya' has been as popular in India as that of 'Caesar' in the West. Both in 'Vikramāditya' and in 'Caesar' are ingrained the sentiments of victory, glory and empire. The investigation of the holders of the title 'Vikramāditya', besides explaining so many other things, points out by analogy that as there was a ruler of the name of Caesar in Europe similarly there must have been one named Vikramā-ditya in India in order to inaugurate this title.

Uptil very recently, the first monarch who bore the title 'Vikramāditya' was taken to be Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. This was one of the arguments which were advanced to prove that the Gupta emperor was the original Vikramāditya of history and tradition. But now it is also indicated that his father, the great Samudragupta used the title 'Śrī-Vikramah'¹. This great conqueror well deserves this title. His victorious march throughout the vast territories enumerated by Harishena in the Allahabad inscription clearly indicates that the 'Parākramah' was also a 'sun of valour' and could rightly assume the title 'Śrī-Vikramah'. The holding of the title of 'Śrī-Vikramah' by Samudragupta may be doubted by some scholars even now, but that Chandragupta II held this title cannot be doubted. This mighty emperor added lustre to this title. Skandagupta Vikramāditya is said to have added a great charm to this title and the story of this hero has touched the imagination of the Indian mind the most.

1. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol.V, Part II, Pp. 136-137. Commenting on this hoard of coins discovered by him at Bamnālā in the Indore State, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar writes :—

"On the seventh coin the dress of the king and other items are similar to those in coins Nos.1 to 5, and in all respects this coin closely resembles

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After the great Guptas, the use of this word as a title or name is found all over India. The Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, the Chola Vikrama, and so many others indicate the popularity of this title amongst the rulers in ancient India.

Whoever later on obtained victory over foreigners or thought to have done so took up this title. It is stated that even Hemu proclaimed himself as Vikramā-

the coins of Samudra-gupta of the standard type. But it is of an extraordinary importance, in that it bears on the reverse the legend "Śrī Vikramaḥ" instead of the usual legend "Parākramaḥ". No other coin of Samudra-gupta has hitherto been found bearing this legend, which is found used only on the coins of Chandra-gupta II. This novelty may be explained in two ways.

"It may be supposed, therefore, that the coin of Samudra-gupta in the Bamnālā hoard bearing on the reverse the bruda Śrī Vikramaḥ was struck in the early period of Chandra-gupta's reign, the old die for the obverse of the coin of Samudra-gupta being used instead of the die of Chandra-gupta's early coins of the archer type. After only a few coins were struck in this way the mistake was detected and the further minting of the coin was discontinued. It is for this reason that our coin in the Bamnālā find is the only specimen of the variety so far found. If this supposition is accepted, it would be better to call this as Chandra-gupta's coin wrongly bearing on the obverse the die of Samudra-gupta's coin

"An alternative suggestion can also be made. It may be supposed that in the later period of his reign Samudra-gupta introduced the epithet 'Vikrama' in place of the usual synonymous epithet 'Parākrama' used on coins of the standard type and that Chandra-gupta continued to adopt on his coins the epithet 'Vikrama' which he liked better than the epithet 'Parākrama'. It may be said against this view that the coins of the standard type of Samudra-gupta, which is a close copy of the later coins of the Kushāna type, are the earliest of all his coins and that if he had introduced the new epithet on some coins of his standard type, it could have been used also on other coins struck by him."

To me it appears that both these assumptions are made with a view to maintaining *status-quo* in the historical world. Though the singleness of this type has helped this scholar to maintain this attitude, the theory that it is a coin of Chandra-gupta II is far from being convincing. To me it seems that Samudra-gupta assumed this title of 'Śrī-Vikramaḥ' when the "Devaputra Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi Śakas" bowed before his might and began to offer their daughters to him. (—Allahabad Inscription).

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ditya when he hoped that he would be successful in overthrowing the Mughal empire.

The conquest over foreigners is of course the main basis upon which sentimental value is attached to the title of Vikramāditya. The later holders of this title encouraged literature and art, gave away unlimited charities, and raised to the highest pinnacle the glory of their court. This seems to be the main reason why a congregate image of the virtues of all the emperors bearing the title of Vikramāditya has arisen in the brain of the people submerging the identity of the original Vikramāditya of Mālava Gaṇas underneath a deep sea of oblivion whence it has become difficult to resuscitate him. Whatever was found to be the best in the Indian civilisation or monarchical rule has been made symbolic with Vikramāditya. He subsequently came to be known as the patron of the Nine Gems—the best intellectuals that India could produce in the different branches of learning; he was attributed with the fine qualities of giving protection to the poor and of doing unadulterated justice with a high sense of sacrifice and generosity. The Vikramāditya of Mālava Gaṇa might have possessed all these qualities but the picture painted of him seems to be a bit exaggerated and, to a certain extent, unreal.

CONCLUSION

From the above analysis of the known historical facts and traditions the conclusions we arrive at are :—

That the Śakas had subjugated the Mālava Gaṇas near about 57 B. C., the primary reason of their defeat being the religious rivalries and internal dissensions in the land. A hero named Vikramāditya having gathered together and unified the Mālava Gaṇas and other people

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completely routed and drove away the Śakas from India. To commemorate this great national victory a new era called the Vikrama Saṁvat was started and the coins bearing the legend “Mālavānām Jayah” were circulated. This Vikramāditya was very powerful and possessed high qualities of head and heart. It was quite natural for the Mālava-Gaṇa people to attach more importance to their community. In preference to the individuality of their leader, they preferred to call this era as ‘Mālava’ or ‘Kṛita’ after their clan or its heroic deed. But outside the Mālava, however, the people under monarchical government did not like to accept it in the name of the clan, but regarded it a beginning of the Golden Age, and to give honour to the great hero of the event called it ‘Vikrama Saṁvat’.

We are prepared to concede that in the chain of arguments about this theory a number of links require strengthening by additional evidence ; yet this conception does not run counter to the known historical facts and at the same time does not go against our tradition. The acceptance of the title of Vikramāditya in the early centuries of the Vikrama Era by the mightiest of the Indian rulers and their feeling elevated and honoured thereby clearly show the great veneration and respect that the indigenous imagination has for the epithet Vikramāditya. The era inaugurated by Vikramāditya is our greatest cultural heritage and has ever since then become a luminous star which continues constantly to remind us of our great and glorious past and which guides and inspires us in our onward march to the greater and more glorious future.

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Appendix¹

No.	Vikrama Sāṃvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Sāṃvat
1	282	Nāṇḍā (Udaipur State)	Śaktiguṇaguru ..	Kritayor dvayor varshaśatayor dvyaśtayoḥ 200 80 2 Chatrapūṇamāsim
2	284	Baṇḍālā (Jaipur State)	(. . .) Vardhana	Chatrapūṇamāsim Kritēhi (= Kritaḥ)
3-5	295	Baḍvā (Jaipur State)	..	Kritēhu (= Kritaḥ).
6	335	Baṇḍālā (Jaipur State)	Bhaṭṭa	Kritēhu (= Kritaḥ) 300 30 5 Jarā sudhaya pañchadaśi
7	428	Bijayagadh (Bharatpur State)	Vishṇuvardhana ..	Kriteshu chaturshu varshaśatesh ashāvinīśeshu 400 20 8 Phālgunabāhulasya pañchadaśyām etasyām pūrvāyām
8	461	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Naravarman ..	Śrī-Mālavaganāmnāte prāśte Kritasamjñite / ekashashy- adhike prāpte samāśatachatuṣṭaye // dīne Āśvojaśuklasya pañchamīyām atha satkrite/
9	480	Gaṅgdhār (Jhalawar State)	Vīśavarman ..	Yāteshu chaturshu Kriteshu śateshu saṁvatsāishvā (?) śitasottarapadeshv iha vatsa (reshu) śukle trayodaśadīne bhuvī Karttikasya māśasya
10	481	Nagari (Udaipur State)	Two Bana brothers	Kriteshu chaturshu varshaśatesh ekāśtityutareshv asyām Mālavapūrvāyām (400) 80 1 Kārtikaśuklapañchamīyām
11	493	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Kumārāgupta and Bandhuvrman	Mālavānām gaṇasthityā yāte śatachatuṣṭaye / trinaṁvata- dhike 'bdānām ritau sevayagnanastane // Sahasyamāśaśuklasya prāśte 'hu trayodaśe/

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, Appendix, and Vol. XXVI, Pp 118-125.

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No	Vikrama Samvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Samvat
12	524	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Prabhākara	Śaramiśānāthakarāmālaya vikhyāpake Mālavavamśa- kīrtite / śaradgaṇe pañchaśate vyatite triṅśatitāśābhyaadhuke krameṇa //
13	589	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	..	.... .. yāteshv ekānnavatsahuteshu / Mālavagaṇasthuvāśāt kālajñānāya likhiteshu //
14	770	Chitorgaḍh (Udaipur State)	Māna	"The probability is that in this inscription the era of the Mālava king is referred to"
15	794	Dhinkla ¹ (Kathawar)	Jāukadeva of Saurā- shtra	Vikramasāmyavatsaraśateshu saptasu chaturnavatyadhukeshv aṅkataḥ 794 Kārttikamāsāparapakṣe amāvāsyaḥ Āditya- vāre Jyeshṭhānakṣatre Ravigrabhaṇaparvau
16	795	Kanasa (Kotah State)	Śivagaṇa	Saṁvatsaraśataur yātaḥ saptaśchanavatyargalaḥ saptabhur Mālavajñānam
17	898	Dholpur (Rajputana)	Chandamahāsena	Vasunavāśhtauvarśahāgatasya kālasya Vikramākhyaśya / Vaiśākhaśya sūtyā Ravivāryutadvitīyāṁ // Chandre Rohiṇiyukte lagne Śumhasya Śobhane yoge //
18	936	Gyāraspur (Gwalior State)	..	.. .. Mālavakālāch Chharadām śhatrīmśatsaṁyuteshv atīteshu / navasu śateshu Madhāv iha
19	973	Bujapur	Rāshṭrakūṭa gḍharāja	Rāmagrīnandakālīte Vikramakāle gate tu Śuchumā (se) //
20	1005	Bodh-Gayā (Bihar)	..	'Era of Vikramāditya' is referred to
21	1008	Āhār (Udaipur State)	Allaṭa	Kārttikasatapāñchamyaṁ Agraṭanāmnā susūtradhāreṇa / prārabdhām devagrīham kāle vasuśūnyaduḥkṣamkhye // Daśa- digvikramakāle Vaiśākhe śuddhasaptamīdivase / Harr iha ni 'eśito 'yam ghaṭṭapratīmo Varāheṇa //

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22	1013	Osiā (Jodhpur State)	..	'Vikrama year' is referred to.
23	1028	Ekahūgaṇi (Udaipur State)	Naravāhana Vikramādityabūbhritāḥ / aśtāvimśatisamīyukte śate daśaguṇe satī //
24	1086	Rāḍhanpur (Bombay Presidency)	Bhīmadeva .	Vikramasamvat 1086 Kārttikaśudi 15
25	1099	Vasantagaḍh (Sirohi State)	Pūrṇapāla ..	Navanavatrīḥśid Vikramādityakāle // Jēgati daśatānām agrato yatā pūrṇā prabhavati nabhamāse sthānake Chutrabhānoḥ // Mrigaśīrasi śaśāṅke kṛṣṇapakshe navamīyām
26	1103	Tilakwāḍā (Baroda State)	Jasorāja and Bhojadeva	Vatsarar Vikramādityaḥ śatair ekādaśas tathā / tryuttarair Mārgamāse'smun Some Somasya parvaṇi //
27	1116	Udayapur (Gwalior State)	Udayāditya .	Ekādaśatavarshāṅga tadadhukam shodaśam cha Vikrame (in) dresam // Samvat 1116 navāśatākāśīti śaka gata śālvahna cha nripādhiśa śake 981
28	1118	Deogarh (Jhansi U. P.)	Satī stone ..	(Vikrama) Samvat 1118 Jyeshthasu.
29	1131	Navasāri (Baroda State)	Karnarāja and Durlabharāja	Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditasamvatsaraśateshv ekādaśasu ekatrimśadadhikeshu atrāṅkato'pi Sam 1131 Kārttikaśudi ekādaśīparvaṇi
30	1148	Sunak (Baroda State)	Karnadeva Trailokyamalla	Vikramasamvat 1148 Varśākhaśudi 15 Some
31	1150	Gwalior ..	Mahīpāladeva ..	Ekādaśav atīteshu samvatsaraśateshu cha / ekonapāñchāśatī cha gāteshv abdeshu Vikramāt // Pañchāśe chāśvne māse kṛṣṇapaksheāṅkato'pi 1150 // Āśvinaḥulapāñchamīyām
32	1157	Arthūṇā (Banswara State)	Chāmūṇḍarāja ..	Saptapāñchāśadadhike vahasre cha śatottare / Chaitrakṛṣṇadavittīyām. Vikramasamvat 1157 Chaitravadi Some

1. This copper-plate is proved to be spurious by Dr. Altekar in *E I*, Vol. XXVI, P. 189.

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No.	Vikrama Samvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Samvat
33	1161	Gwalior ..	Successor of Mahipaladeva	Śrī-Vikramānṛpa-kālātītasamvatsarānām ekashashtyadhikāyam ekādāśasatyam Māghaśuklashashtīyām
34	1164	Kadmāl (Udaipur State)	Vijayasinhā	Śrī-Vikramakālātītasamvatsarāśateshv ekādāśasu chatuḥshashtyadhikeshu Āshādhāmāsāmāvāsīyām Sūryagrahaṇe 'hikato pi Samvat 1164 varshe Āshādhavadi
35	1166	Arthūnā (Banswara State)	Vijayarāja	Varshasahasre yāte shajshashtyuttaraśatena samnyukte / Vikramabhānoḥ kāle.....Vikramasamvat 1166 Vaiśākha-sudī 3 Some
36	1176	Sevāḍī (Jodhpur State)	Ratnapāla	Śrī-Vikramādityotpādītātītasamvatsarāśateshv ekādāśasu shaṣṭasaptatyadhikeshu Jyeshthamāsabahulapakshāṣṭāmīgurvāsare ahikato 'pi Samvat 1176 Jyeshthavadi 8 Gurau
37	1191	Dhārā ..	Yaśovarmadeva	Śrī-Vikramakālātītasamvatsaraukanavatyadhikāśataikādāśeshu Kārttikaśudī ashtamīyām
38	1195	Ujjain (Gwalior State)	Jayasinhā	Vikramanṛpa-kālātītasamvatsarāśataikādāśasu pañchana-vatyadhikeshu // ahikatah Sam 1195 (1) Jyeshthavadi Gurau
39	1195	Bhadresvara (Cutch State)	Jayasinhadeva.	Vikramasamvat 1195 varshe Āshāḍhaśudī 10 Ravau asyām samvatsaramāsapakshadivasapūrvāyam tithau
40	1196	Dohad (Panch Mahal, Bombay Presidency)	Jayasinhadeva	Śrīnṛpavikramasamvat 1196
41	1198	Kurāḍū (Jodhpur State)	Jayasinhā Siddharāja Someśvara.	.....ashṭanavatau varshe Vikramabhūpateh
42	1199	Jhālrāpāṭana (Jhalawar State)	Naravarmadeva and Yaśovarmadev	Vikramānṛkasamvat 1199 Phālgunaśudī.....

DHANVANTARI, ONE OF THE NINE JEWELS
OF VIKRAMADITYA'S COURT AND HIS
NAME-SAKES IN LEGEND
AND LITERATURE

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

According to tradition Dhanvantari was one of the nine gems¹ of the court of Vikramāditya, whose era the *Samvat* begins in 56 B. C. The date of this Vikramāditya is by no means settled. Dr. Bhau Daji identifies Vikrama with Harsha Vikramāditya who lived in the middle of the sixth century.²

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1. These are :—(1) धन्वन्तरि, (2) क्षपणक, (3) अमरसिंह, (4) शङ्खकु, (5) वेतालभट्ट, (6) घटकपर्प, (7) कालिदास, (8) बराहमिहिर, (9) वररुचि.

2. See P. 221 of *Classical Dictionary* by J. Dowson, London, 1913. Dowson records three namesakes of Dhanvantari :—(1) Name of a Vedic deity to whom offerings at twilight were made, (2) The physician of the gods, produced at the churning of the ocean; (3) the Court-physician, one of the nine gems at the court of Vikramāditya (*Ibid*, P. 88). The traditional verse about the nine jewels reads as follows:—

“धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्खकुवेतालभट्टघटकपर्पकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो बराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥”

Vide P. 37, Verse 67 of *सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1935).—No source of the verse is indicated.

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According to Indian medical tradition the knowledge of medicine had a two-fold origin. On the one hand it was delivered by God Indra to Dhanvantari (also called Divodāsa and Kāśīrāja) and from him to Suśruta. This tradition traces medicine from a mythical through a semi-mythical to an historical beginning.¹

The B. O. R. Institute (Government MSS Library) possesses a MS of a work called धन्वंतरिमन्त्र (MS No. 668 of 1895-1902—folio 1). This *mantra* reads as follows :—

“श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ धन्वंतरीमन्त्र ॥ धन्वंतरीमहामन्त्रस्य अवांतर्यामि ऋषिः ।
गायत्री छंदः । धन्वंतरी महाविष्णुर्देवता । वं बीजं । स्वाहा शक्तिः । धन्वंतरीमहा-
मन्त्रजपे विनियोगः । वां अंगुष्ठाभ्यां नमः । वां कनिष्ठिकाभ्यां ० एवं हृदयादिन्यासः ।
ध्यानं

पयोत्थे मध्यस्थं दशशतभुजालंबि विलसत्
घटौ धास्यां निर्यत्सुविमलसुधापूरसलिलैः ।
अमुं संचितं निजशिरसि संचित्य वपुषा
भवेदायुर्दीर्घं ग्रहदुरितदोषैर्विषहरं ॥

The only jewel in the above list which is datable is Varāhamihira the celebrated astronomer who composed the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. He died in A. D. 587 (Vide P 305 of *Early History of India* by V. Smith, 1914). The attempt to make all these authors contemporaries of one another at the court of Vikramāditya after whom the Vikrama Era takes its name cannot succeed, though it may be possible to suggest the contemporaneity of one or two names in this list. Vide my paper on the “Probable identity of Mahākṣhapaka, the author of the *Anekārthadhvaṃmāñjarī*, with his namesake associated with the court of Vikramāditya” contributed to the विक्रम-स्मृति-ग्रंथ, Gwalior (in Hindi). See also Pp. 780-781 of शब्दकल्पद्रुम, Vol II, Calcutta.

1. Vide P. 7 of *Osteology* by Hoernle, Oxford, 1907. See also P. 88 of Dowson's *Dictionary*. Dowson states that Dhanvantari was a teacher of medical science and the Āyurveda is attributed to him. In another birth he was son of Dirghatamas and his “nature was exempt from human infirmities, and in every existence he had been master of universal knowledge” He is called also “Sudhā-pāṇi”, carrying nectar in his hands, and Amṛita, ‘the immortal’ Other physicians seem to have had the name applied to them as *Bhela*, *Divo-dāsa*, and *Pālakāpya*.

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वां करतलकरपृष्ठाभ्यां नमः । ओन्नमो भगवते विष्णवे धन्वन्तरे
अमृतकलशहस्ताय सर्वमायविनाशनाय त्रैलोक्यनाथाय महाविष्णवे स्वाहा ॥
धन्वंतरी अनुष्टुप्

अरिसदनिजळूकारत्नपीयूषकुंभ—
प्रविलसितकरांतः कांतपीतांबराढ्यः ।
तनु तव सविराजन्मौलिरारोग्यकारी
शतमखमणिवर्णः पातु धन्वंतरीर्वः ॥
अच्युतानंद गोविंद विष्णो नारायणामृत ।
रोगान्मे नाशयाशेषानाशु धन्वंतरे हरे ॥

इति धन्वंतरी अनुष्टुप् ॥ समाप्तः ॥”

The two verses in the foregoing *Dhanvantari-mantra* are of iconographic value and they suggest to me the necessity of collecting iconographic texts about Dhanvantari and also studying his sculptural representations,¹ if any, so far brought to light.

According to Suśruta, Divodāsa was the incarnation of Dhanvantari, the celebrated physician of the gods in heaven, and he first propounded the Art of Healing in this world. Vide अथ खलु भगवन्तं, अमरवरं, ऋषिगणपरिवृतं, आश्रमस्थं, काशिराजं, दिवोदासं, धन्वन्तरिमौषधे नववैतरणौ रभ्रपोष्कालावतकरवीर्यगोपुररक्षितसुश्रुतप्रभृतय ऊचुः ।

—*Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, I. i.

- 1 Vide Pp. 39-40 of *Mūrtivijñāna* (in Marathi) by G. H. Khare, Curator B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1939.—Mr. Khare observes :—Dhanvantari with *amṛita-kumbha* is one of the 14 jewels turned out from the churning of the ocean by gods and demons. We cannot say how D. became an *avatāra* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. From the story of D. in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* D appears to be an expert in सर्पविष-चिकित्सा and an expert physician in general. Iconographic descriptions of धन्वन्तरि are found in भागवतपुराण (८।८।३१); मार्कण्डेय-पुराण (२५।१।५); विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (७३।४१); विष्णुपुराण (१।९।३६); शिल्परत्न (२३।१४।१३।३६); समराङ्गणसूत्रधार (७७।४७). Mr. Khare states that he has not come across any image of धन्वन्तरि which can be definitely identified on the strength of texts. Facing P. 40 he gives a photo (Plate 8) of an image in the B. I. S. Mandal which he thinks is one of Dhanvantari.

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Referring to the nine gems of King Vikrama's court (B. C. 57), Thakore Saheb of Gondal¹ states that "there have been several persons bearing the name *Dhanvantari*, which is generally applied to an accomplished physician. The gem referred to as adorning Vikrama's court was the author of an elaborate work on Materia Medica called *Nighaṇṭu*." Evidently the Thakore Saheb believes in the identity of Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court with his namesake, the supposed author of the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu*.

In his chapter on the "Qualities of a Physician" the Thakore Saheb further records the following definitions of three types² of physicians:—

- (1) *Vaidya*—"A practitioner knowing *one hundred* remedies is called a *Vaidya*."
- (2) *Bhishak*—"One with a knowledge of *two hundred* remedies for any one disease is called a *Bhishak*."
- (3) *Dhanvantari*—"To one who is acquainted with no less than *three hundred* remedies for each and every affection is applied the term *Dhanvantari*."

We have referred above to the theory that Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court is identical with Dhanvantari, the author of the Materia Medica *Dhanvanatri-Nighaṇṭu*. We have also mentioned Amara, the author of the lexicon *Amarakośa*, as the contemporary of Dhanvantari at Vikrama's court. This contemporaneity of Amara and Dhanvantari is contradicted to a certain

1 Vide P. 196 of *Aryan Medical Science* by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Singh Jee, K. C. I. E., London, 1896.

2. *Ibid*, P. 163.

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extent by the following remarks¹ of Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā about the date of the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* :—

“The oldest is the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* in nine chapters, which according to Kshīrasvāmin is *older than Amara*. It gives also the medical virtues and is the basis of almost all the later *Nighaṇṭus*.”

Elsewhere² in his Introduction to the *Kalpādrukośa* Prof. Śarmā observes :—

“*Dhanvantari*, another predecessor of *Amara*, wrote a medical *Nighaṇṭu* (= *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu*).”

Kshīrasvāmin, the earliest commentator on the *Amara-kośa*, makes *Dhanvantari* a predecessor of *Amara*. Kshīrasvāmin flourished in the latter half of the 11th century, i. e., between A. D. 1050 and 1100. His testimony about the priority of *Dhanvantari* to *Amara* cannot be ruled out easily.

Speaking of *Amara*, the so called contemporary of *Dhanvantari*, Prof. Śarmā states :—

“*Amara* was a Buddhist. He is traditionally believed to have been one of the nine gems of King Vikramāditya, whose very identity is involved in mystery. He must, however, have lived prior to the sixth century A. C. when his work was translated

1. Vide P. xlix of Introduction to *Kalpādrukośa*, Vol. I, 1928 (G. O. Series, Baroda). Vide Pp. x-xi—While accounting for *bālātānaya* in *Amara* II. 4-50 as a synonym of *Khadīra* Kshīrasvāmin says that it was due to *Amara*’s reading by a mistake *bālāputra* in *Dhanvantari*’s text instead of *bālāputra* (“बालपुत्रो यवासः खदिरश्चेति द्वयर्थेषु धन्वन्तरिपठितमदृष्ट्वा बालपुत्रमन्त्या ग्रन्थकृद् बालतनयमाह ”—Vide P. 62 of K. G. Oka’s edition of *Amarakośa* with Kshīrasvāmin’s Com.).

2. *Ibid*, P. xvi.

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into Chinese (Vide Lassen: *Indische Altertumskunde*, IV, 633).''¹

The foregoing notes indicate how the concept of *Dhanvantari* has undergone several changes. From his mythical origin he becomes semi-mythical and later assumes a historical character, being associated with the illustrious court of King Vikramāditya, whose very existence is involved in mystery. The working of the popular imagination is a mystic and wonderful process which rides over all difficulties of history and chronology and the Indian mind, in spite of the best efforts of Indologists, will continue to hold fast to the legend of the nine jewels of Vikrama's court, which will now receive added glory and lustre by the cumulative force of the Vikrama Celebrations all over India which are bound to create much interest in the glory that was Ind two thousand years ago.

Leaving aside *Dhanvantari* of the early myth and legend we may record here some information about physicians of the name *Dhanvantari* or works ascribed to authors of the name *Dhanvantari*.

In A. D. 1381 a work on veterinary medicine ascribed to Salator was transcribed from Sanskrit by the order of Firroz Shah after the capture of Nagorecote. A copy of it was preserved in the royal library of Lucknow

1 *Ibid*, P xvii.—In the *Ashtāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (c. A. D. 625 according to Hoernle) the worship of *Dhanvantari* and other gods like *Avalokiteśvara*, *Tārā*, etc. is prescribed in the chapter on अन्नरक्षाविधि (सूत्रस्थान Chap. 8—vide P. 84 of *Sūtrasthāna* by R. D. Kinjavadekar, Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1940)—“ततश्चार्या-
वलोकितेश्वरमार्यंतारां.....धन्वन्तरिसुश्रुत.....वैनतेयान् अन्यांश्च
यथाविध्युक्तदेवताः.....महतीभिः दक्षिणाभिः पूजयित्वा etc.”
The above extract contains a curious mixture of early Hindu deities, early medical authors raised to the status of deities and Buddhist deities like *Avalokiteśvara*, *Tārā*, etc.

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(Maxmüller's *Science of Language*, Vol. I, P. 116). Among the Hindu physicians of the time one is mentioned as the son of DHN, director of the hospital of the Barmaks in Bagdad. This may be *Dhanya* or *Dhanian* chosen probably on account of its etymological relationship with the name धन्वन्तरि, the name of the mythical physician of the gods in Manu's lawbook and the epics (cf. Weber: *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, Pp. 284-287)¹ The celebrated Jaina author Jinaprabhasūri, a contemporary of Muhammad Taghlak, composed a work called the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*,² which is a rich source of historical and legendary lore about the different *tīrthas* of India. This work according to its learned editor Muni Jinavijayaji must have been composed between A. D. 1308 and 1333.³ In his account of the town of Ahichchhatra called "*Ahichchhatrānagarīkalpa*"⁴ Jinaprabha refers to a well named after धन्वन्तरि ("धन्वन्तरिकू" or "धन्वन्तरिकूप") the yellow sands of which were capable of yielding gold. This anecdote told by Jinaprabha 600

1 Vide Pp 352-353 of Vol I of *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus* by G. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1913. Regarding the references to Dhanvantari in medical tradition and literature, vide आयुर्वेदो इतिहास by Durgashankar Kevāram Shastri, Ahmedabad, 1942.—Index (P. 275) refers to धन्वन्तरि, chronology of धन्वन्तरि and सुश्रुत, धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु, धन्वन्तरिविलास, धन्वन्तरिसंप्रदाय, and धन्वन्तरिसारनिधि.

2. Ed in *Smṛti Jaina Granthamālā*, No. 10, Shantiniketan, 1934.

3. *Ibid*, Intro P. 2.

4. *Ibid*. P. 14—"धन्वन्तरिकूवत्स यं पिंजरवर्णाए मट्टिआए गुरुवत्सा कंचणं उत्पज्जइ।"

The Prakrit—Hindi Dictionary by Hargovinddas called the पाइअसइ-सहणव (= प्राकृतशब्दमहार्णव) makes the following entry about Dhanvantari on P. 596 :—

"धन्वन्तरि पुं (धन्वन्तरि) १ राजा कनकरथ का एक स्वनामख्यात वैद्य (विपाकश्रुत १.८) २ देववैद्य (जयतिहुअणस्तोत्र २)"

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years ago amply proves the miraculous hold of the name Dhanvantari on the popular imagination.

We shall now record some information about the association of Dhanvantari with Sanskrit works represented by manuscripts. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries regarding Dhanvantari and works named after him :—

Part I, P. 267—धन्वन्तरि—

Aushadhaprayoga. Opp. 1168 (in Telugu characters).

Kārajñāna. B. 4. 220.

Chikitsātattvajñāna. Quoted in ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण
Oxf. 22b.¹

Chikitsāḍīpikā. Oudh III, 20.

Chikitsāsāra. B. 4. 224 (74 leaves).

Bālachikitsā. B. 4. 230 (19 leaves, 660
Ślokas).

Yogachintāmaṇi. Med. Bhr. 371.²

Yogaḍīpikā. Med. B. 4. 232 (32 leaves).

Vidyāprakāśachikitsā. L. 1446.³

The work विपाकश्रुत in which a physician of the name धन्वन्तरि is mentioned belongs to the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon, being its eleventh Aṅga. This work could not be later than the end of the 4th century A. D. (See P. 452 of *Indian Literature*, Vol. II, by Winternitz, Calcutta, 1933). This reference shows how the name धन्वन्तरि for an expert physician had become current very early in Indian literature.

1. This quotation reads :—

“चिकित्सा च तत्त्वज्ञानं नाम तन्त्रं मनोहरम्।

धन्वन्तरिश्च भगवांश्चकार प्रथमे सति॥”

2. This MS=No. 371 of 1882-83 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The MS is dated *Saṃvat* 1842=A. D. 1786 and ends as follows :—“इति धन्वन्तरिविरचितं योगचिन्तामणि ग्रंथ समाप्तं” (15 folios).

3. R. Mitra describes this work as “a treatise on the treatment of diseases. Attributed to Dhanvantari but it is apparently a modern work.”—The MS is dated *Saṃvat* 1887 (=A. D. 1831). It ends :—“इति श्रीधन्वन्तरिविरचिता विद्याप्रकाशचिकित्सा समाप्ता.”

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धन्वन्तरिगुणयोगशत—See *Yogaśata*.¹

धन्वन्तरिग्रन्थ—Med. Oppert 69 (400 pages).

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—A glossary of *Materia Medica*. Cop. 105, I. O. 1507,² Oxf. 194b,³ L. 823, K. 212, B. 4. 226, Report XXXVI, Ben. 64, Bik. 636,⁴ Kātm. 13, NW 592, NP I, 12, Burnell 70b⁵, Taylor 1, 118. 253, Oppert 3991, 8021; II, 523, 4172, 4658, 6582, 8244, Rice 294, Bühler 558. Quoted by क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश, in भावप्रकाश Oxf. 311b, Nighaṇṭurāja⁶ Oxf. 323a.

धन्वन्तरिपञ्चक—Med. Opp. 4118.

धन्वन्तरिविलास—Med. Composed under some Tanjore prince of the last century. Burnell 68a.⁷

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1. Vide *Cata. Catalo*, I, 479—A work of the name योगशतक or योगशत is attributed to वररुचि (W. P. 296, K. 214, Burnell 67b, B. P. 274) with commentaries by अमितप्रभ, पूर्णसेन and रूपनयन. One वररुचि is one of the nine jewels of Vikrama's court.
 2. India Office No. 1507b of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु is dated *Samvat* 1857 (=A. D. 1801).
 3. Aufrecht makes the following remark about this MS :—
“Haec voluminis pars anno 1467 non satis accurate exarata est.”
 4. This Bikaner MS is dated *Samvat* 1667 (=A. D. 1611).
 5. Burnell states that a part of this MS was written about A. D. 1650.
 6. This is the राजनिघण्टु of Narahari, the Kashmirian.
 7. This work was composed by King Tulaja of Tanjore (A.D.1729-1735) (Vide P. 1400 of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, 1933, Vol. XVI). On P. 1401 of this Catalogue a MS of धन्वन्तरिसारनिधि is described. The author of this work is also King Tulaja referred to above.

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Part II, P. 57b—धन्वन्तरि—

Nibandhasaṁgraha (Peters.
4.40).¹

Vaidyabhāskarodaya (Stein
190—59 leaves).

Vaidyavidyāvinoda (Stein
190—142 leaves)².

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—

Fl. 351 (inc.). Govt. Ori. Lib.
Madras 39. I. O. 114, 1507.
Peters. 4.39. Rgb. 923, 924.³

Part III, P. 59a—धन्वन्तरि—

Āyurvedasārāvali (Hpr. 1, 31).

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—

Bc. 452. Lz 1220. Tb 174.

1. This MS=No. 1058 of 1886-92 (B. O. R. I.) dated *Saṁvat* 1874 (=A. D. 1818) The author of this work is डल्हण. It is a commentary on the निदानस्थान of सुश्रुतसंहिता (Vide P. 142) of *Des Cata. of Vaidyaka MSS* by H. D. Sharma, Vol. XVI, Part I, 1939—B. O. R. I.).

2. This MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1766 (=A. D. 1711)

3. These are Government MSS at B. O. R. I. The following are B. O. R. I. Government MSS of द्रव्यावली, or द्रव्यावलीनिघण्टु, or धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु :—

No. 895 of 1887-91—dated *Saṁvat* 1924 (=A. D. 1868) by महेन्द्रभोगिक, son of कृष्णभोगिक

No. 894 of 1887-91—by महेन्द्रभोगिक.

No. 1054 of 1886-92—dated *Saṁvat* 1572 (=A. D. 1516) by महेन्द्रभोगिक.

No. 1057 of 1886-92—dated *Saṁvat* 1743 (=A. D. 1687) by महेन्द्रभोगिक or धन्वन्तरि ?

No. 897 of 1887-91—निघण्टुनाममाला dated *Saṁvat* 1747 (=A. D. 1691) by महेन्द्रभोगिक or धन्वन्तरि ?

No. 924 of 1884-87—dated *Saṁvat* 1698 (=A. D. 1642).

No. 923 of 1884-87—dated *Saṁvat* 1744 (=A. D. 1688).

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The foregoing record of the works and manuscripts which are named after Dhanvantari prove rather the popularity of the name धन्वन्तरि than his historicity. The late character of many of these works is evident from the information available to me and recorded in the footnotes given by me. These footnotes are mainly based on the description of the MSS of these works as I found recorded in the several descriptive catalogues available at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The only work in the above list which can claim some antiquity is the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु. The chronology of this work on the strength of subsequent references to it may be indicated as follows :—

A. D.

.....Date of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु (=DN) prior to *Amarakośa* according to Kshīrasvāmin (11th century).

c. 500-600—Date of *Amarakośa* according to R. Śaṁnā.

c.1050-1100—Date of Kshīrasvāmin who refers to DN's text as wrongly understood by the author of the *Amarakośa*.

1220—Quotation from DN by Aruṇadatta¹ in his commentary on the *Ashṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century A. D.).

1. Vide *Ashṭāṅgahṛdaya* ed. by Haṁshastrī Parādkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1939—

Page 118—" तथा च धन्वन्तरिराख्यत् (धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टौ व. १।२।१२)—
'बिभीतको वर्षफलो' इत्यादि.

Page 75—Aruṇadatta quotes from a work called धान्वन्तर as follows :—

"तथा चोक्तं धान्वन्तरे—'शालिपिष्टमयं सर्वं गुरुभावाद्विदह्यते' इति."

This work called धान्वन्तर seems to be different from the धन्वन्तरि-
निघण्टु.

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- c. 1260—Hemādri¹ in his commentary on the *Ashṭāṅga-hrīdaya* refers to *DN*.
- c. 1550—Reference to *DN* by Bhāvamīśra in his *Bhāva-prakāśa* (Oxford MS) referred to by Aufrecht.

Though the identity of Dhanvantari the author of the *DN* with Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court cannot be proved beyond challenge, we have in the *DN* a work ascribed to Dhanvantari possessing an antiquity of about 1500 years in spite of the variations it might have undergone in its text during this period. We have already seen that the Thakore Saheb of Gondal believes that *DN* is the work of Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court². Though Arunādatta and Hemādri, both of the 13th century, quote from the *DN* sparingly, Kshīrasvāmin of the 11th century quotes from this work many times.³ The *Amarakośa* of Amarasimha, the supposed contemporary of Dhanvantari at Vikrama's court, does not mention धन्वन्तरि though according to Kshīrasvāmin Amarasimha appears to have used the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु. The priority of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु to the *Amarakośa* now resting on the single testimony of Kshīrasvāmin needs more evidence in its support before it could be relied upon with implicit confidence.

As regards the antiquity of the verse which makes Dhanvantari a contemporary of Kālidāsa and other

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1. *Ashṭāṅga-hrīdaya* (Paradkar's Edition). On P. 275 "धन्वन्तरीयाः" are quoted. On P. 112 we get the following quotation :—
 "(त्वङ्मूलपल्लवं ग्राहि कषायं पित्तनाशनम्" इति (धन्वन्तरीयनिघण्टौ वर्ग ५।७)".
 2. Vide P. 196 of *Aryan Medical Science*.
 3. Vide *Amarakośa* with Com. of Kshīrasvāmin, ed by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913, Pages 56, 59, 62, 67, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82, 110, 111, 148, 156, 157, 179 etc.—The quotations are introduced by the words तथा च धन्वन्तरिः etc.

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jewels of Vikrama's court we are told by scholars¹ that it is found "in a work of the sixteenth century". Unless this verse is traced in very early sources it is impossible to believe in its veracity.

In the brief note on Dhannantari (धन्वन्तरि) in the Jaina encyclopaedic *Abhidhānarājendra* (Part IV, 1913) P. 2659, the following information is found :—

- (1) धन्वन्तरि is a divine physician as stated in the verse—

“नारायणांशो भगवान् स्वयं धन्वन्तरिर्महान् ।

पुरा समुद्रमथने समुत्तस्थौ महोदधे ॥”

- (2) धन्वन्तरि=दिवोदास काशिराज
 (3) धन्वन्तरि=A Paṇḍita at the court of Vikramāḍitya (“धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्ट etc.”)
 (4) धन्वन्तरि=A Yogi who originated the science of medicine (बृ. १ उ. २ प्रक.)
 (5) धन्वन्तरि=The Court-physician of कनकरथ, king of विजयपुर (Vide विपाकश्रुत-स्था. १० वा.)
 (6) धन्वन्तरि=A divine hermit who had come down to earth for testing जमदग्नि

(“इतश्च जैनमादेशावभूतां द्वौ सुरौ दिवि ।

स्वं स्वं धर्मं प्रशंसन्तावूचतुः साधुतापसौ ॥”

—आवश्यककथा, आवश्यकचूर्ण

“इतो यदो देवा वेसानरो सङ्घो धृण्तरौ तावसभत्तो” इति

—आवश्यकमलयगिरि १ अ. २ खंड)

1. Vide P 239 of *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol II (Historical), Oxford, 1909 'Speaking of the mythical Vikramāḍitya the author observes :—

“With Vikramāḍitya an often-quoted verse occurring in a work of the sixteenth century associates a number of distinguished authors, including Kālidāsa, as the 'nine gems' of his court. Sufficiently dubious owing to its lateness, this verse loses all chronological validity as we do not know with certainty who was meant by Vikramāḍitya. The date of each of the literary men named in it must therefore of course be ascertained on separate and independent evidence.

As to Kālidāsa, the most famous of the nine gems, we have now good reason to believe that he flourished not later than A. D. 450. On the other hand his knowledge of the scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks shows that he can hardly have lived earlier than A. D. 300.”

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(7) धन्वन्तरि=A physician of कृष्ण वासुदेव, resident of
द्वारावती

—आवश्यकथा

From the above references the two aspects of धन्वन्तरि, viz., *human* and *divine* are sufficiently clear. As the Brāhmaṇical legend makes धन्वन्तरि a gem of Vikrama's court and as he is supposed to be the author of the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु, we must regard him human. In the same manner the Jaina legend makes धन्वन्तरि a physician of King कनकरथ of विजयपुर and thus makes him human according to the story given in विपाकश्रुत (earlier than c. A. D. 400). We have seen above that the work धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु is supposed to be prior to Amarasiṃha who is assigned to the 6th century A. D. If this priority is correct, we are led to the conclusion that both the Brāhmaṇical and the Jaina legends which associate धन्वन्तरि with the court of a ruling king are very early legends, the historical origins of which, if any, need to be studied in sources prior to A. D. 500 or so. And if Vikramāditya¹ himself is regarded as

1 I note here some works associated with विक्रम or विक्रमादित्य, as recorded in the *Jīvatnakośa* (Catalogus Catalogorum of Jaina MSS) by Prof H. D Velankar This *Kośa* is now being published by the B. O R. Institute, Poona The works referred to above are as follows. —

विक्रमचरित्र by देवमूर्ति composed before Śaṃvat 1492 = A. D. 1436

विक्रमचरित्र by Pandit सोमसूरि

विक्रमचरित्र by Rājameru, pupil of Sādhvīatna (in Sanskrit prose)
--MS dated 1589

विक्रमचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमनृपकथा

विक्रमपञ्चदण्डचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमप्रबन्ध

विक्रमप्रबन्धकथा by Śrutasaṅgara

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a historical personage, the association of धन्वन्तरि with his court, as traditionally believed, may have had some substratum of fact, though it is difficult to make all the gems of Vikrama's court contemporaries on the strength of a verse found in a late work of the 16th century A. D. In the present paper I have recorded some useful information about धन्वन्तरि which by its very nature cannot be conclusive unless all the problems that arise out of this information are satisfactorily solved.

I have not studied the Jaina sources in their entirety with reference to the tradition about Vikramāditya and hence it is not possible for me to say what additional information they contain about Dhanvantari and his association with Vikramāditya's court. Similarly I claim no knowledge of the Buddhist sources, if any, with regard to the Vikrama traditions. I may, however, note here that neither the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*¹ nor the *Pāli-English Dictionary*² contains any reference to the name Dhanvantari.

As the present paper was prepared at short notice, I have had no time to go through the entire literature³ about the Vikrama Era in search of Dhanvantari. Even with a little more time it would have been

विक्रमादित्यकथा (anonymous)

विक्रमादित्यचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमादित्यचरित्र composed by शुभशील in *Saṃvat* 1490 (= A. D. 1434)

विक्रमादित्यधर्मलामादिप्रबन्ध by Merutuṅga Sūri

विक्रमादित्यपञ्चदण्डछत्रप्रबन्ध by पुण्य (पूर्ण) चन्द्रसूरि

विक्रमादित्यप्रबन्ध by विद्यापति

विक्रमार्कविजय by कविगुणार्णव

1. By G. P. Malalasekara, London, Vols. I and II (1937-38).

2. By Rhys Davids, Chipstead, 1925.

3. Vide article on "Vikrama Era" by Vincent A. Smith in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by J. Hastings, Vol. XII, 1921, P. 623.—

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impossible to get access to all the literature on the subject, which has now leapt into prominence owing to the completion of 2000 years of the Vikrama Era.

Aufrecht¹ refers to a MS of a work called “विक्रम-नवरत्नानि Pet. 728.” This MS was extant at St. Petersburg. We may get some information about it after the present world war and see what light it throws on the nine jewels of Vikrama’s court. Aufrecht also refers to numerous works² associated with विक्रम or विक्रमादित्य but time and space forbid me to study them in the present paper and hence such a study must be left to a future occasion.

Smith records important *literature* on the subject at the end of his article Smith observes :—

“No record is known of any *rājā* Vikrama or Vikramāditya at Ujjain or elsewhere in 58 or 57 B C., from whose accession the epoch of the era might be reckoned But it is possible that such a *rājā* may have existed and the presumption is that the name Vikrama as applied to the era should be that of the king who established it ”

“The name Vikrama or Vikramāditya appears not to have been applied to the era until quite a late date in the 10th or 11th century A D.”

1. Vide *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 569
2. Vide *CC*, I, 569—cf विक्रमचन्द्रिका, विक्रमचरित, विक्रमप्रबन्ध, विक्रम-भारत (a medley of legends about Vikramāditya by शम्भुचन्द्रनृपति written at the beginning of the 19th century), विक्रमसेनचम्पू, विक्रमादित्य (पत्रकौमुदी), कविदीपिकानिघण्टु by विक्रमादित्यराज, and *CC*, III, 120—cf. विक्रमसेनचरित्र, and विक्रमादित्यचरित्र.

VIKRAMADITYA IN THE SANSKRIT TRADITION

By

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, Lucknow

The study of the Vikramāditya tradition in Sanskrit literature is another occasion for regretting that the original of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in Paisācī is now lost to us and that from the three summaries of it now available it is not possible to get a clear idea of all the contents of the original work. It would be of special interest to know whether the work as Guṇāḍhya wrote it contained any stories relating to Vikramāditya. If it did, that would be the earliest work containing the Vikramāditya tradition.

While the existence, in ancient days, of an author called Guṇāḍhya and of a work of his called *Bṛhatkathā* is no more in doubt, their exact date has not yet been fixed. The *Bṛhatkathā* was well-known in the 7th century A. D., because Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa knew it.¹ It is, however, not easy to decide how much

1. (a) कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संस्कृतेन च बध्यते ।

भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतायां बृहत्कथाम् ॥

—Daṇḍin: *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 36.

earlier than the 7th century it is. As all the three Sanskrit summaries of it which we possess contain a cycle of stories relating to Udayana Vatsarāja, it is reasonable to suppose that the original Paisāchī work also contained a similar cycle of stories and if it was from this cycle that Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kālidāsa, borrowed the material for his *Svapnavāsavadattā*, we reach for the *Bṛihat-kathā* a date much earlier than the 7th century A.D., perhaps the third or fourth century A.D. Lacote points out that the 5th sarga of the *Bṛihat-kathāśloka-saṅgraha* contains references to artisans and craftsmen, especially Greek artisans and craftsmen, who could make flying machines¹. Winternitz suggests that if this goes back to the original *Bṛihat-kathā*, it would point to the period when the Gāndhāra art flourished in India as the period when the *Bṛihat-kathā* came into existence, i. e., the 1st century A. D.²

However that may be, the next point which it would be interesting to decide is whether the original *Bṛihat-kathā* contained a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya. Winternitz was of the opinion that Subandhu must have found in the *Bṛihat-kathā* which he knew a cycle of stories relating to Vikrama, because in one passage of the *Vāsavadattā* (P. 110, Hall's edition) there is a "sure reference to the story of the maiden becoming a statue".³ I have not got Hall's

(b) अस्ति बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः etc.

—Subandhu: *Vāsavadattā*, Pp 123-124 (Vāṇī Vilāsa Edition).

(c) समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।

हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

—Bāṇa : *Harshacharita*, Intro. Verse 18.

1 Lacote : *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛihat-kathā*.

2. Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*—Driliter Band, P. 316.

3. Winternitz : *Ibid*, P. 313.

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edition of the *Vāsavadattā* with me, but the passage must be the following according to the Vāṇī Vilāsa edition: अस्ति मन्दरगिरिशृङ्गैरिव प्रशस्तसुधाधवलैः बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः.....वेदमभिरुद्भासितं.....कुसुमपुरं नाम नगरम् ।¹ Everything turns on the meaning and significance of “बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः”. Lacote quotes the passage according to Hall’s edition, the explanations of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, Jagaddhara and Narasimha and the interpretations adopted by Hall, Speyer and Von Mankowski. He seems to prefer, on the whole, that of Von Mankowski, but proposes one of his own, without being convinced of its correctness.²

Our only interest in this passage of the *Vāsavadattā* lies in finding out whether it indicates that the *Bṛihat-kathā* which Subandhu knew contained stories relating to Vikramāditya. The passage means that the houses of Kusumapura were like the lambakas of the *Bṛihat-kathā* because they had “śālabhañjikās”. In the case of houses the word *śālabhañjikā* must mean ‘statue’. It was a recognised custom to decorate houses with statues of Vidyādhara, Vidyādhari, Yakshas, etc. It is not equally clear what the expression means when applied to the ‘lambakas’ of the *Bṛihatkathā*. ‘Lambakas’ are divisions of the *Bṛihatkathā*, divisions which have persisted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*. Śivarāma Tripāṭhin remarks : शालभञ्जिका नाभिकाविशेषः. If this explanation is right, Subandhu must have meant that in every ‘lamba’ of the *Bṛihatkathā* the heroine ‘Śālabhañjikā’ played a part. We have not the slightest reason to believe that such was the case because such is not the case in any of the versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* which we now possess. In fact, no heroine of that name figures

1. *Vāsavadattā*, Pp. 123-124 (Vāṇī Vilāsa Edition).

2. Lacote: *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā*, P. 165.

in them. Jagaddhara's explanation: Śālabhañjikā=Vidyādhari, has been interpreted to mean the heroines who give their name to some of the lambakas of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. "Śālabhañjikopasobhitaiḥ" would thus mean "associated with Vidyādhari" and this epithet can apply both to the houses of Kusumapura which are decorated with statues of Vidyādhari and to the lambakas of *Bṛihat-kathā* which are called after some 'Vidyādhari' or other.¹ The difficulty in this interpretation is that not all the names of the lambakas of the *Bṛihat-kathā* are names of Vidyādhari. Śaktiyaśolambaka and Vi-shamaśilalambaka are instances. It is true that many of them are associated with names of women, but these women are not all "Vidyādhari". For Subandhu's epithet to be appropriate, it is necessary that all the lambakas should be associated with "Vidyādhari" and that is not the case, at least in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and we cannot be sure whether it was so or not in the original *Bṛihat-kathā*.

The same difficulty confronts us in the third explanation, that of Narasimha: बृहत्कथा पुस्तकभेदः तत्र शालभञ्जिकोपाख्यानम्. In the Vishamaśilalambaka there is the story of a śālabhañjikā, the story of a woman who is turned into a śālabhañjikā or statue, but this does not happen in any other lambaka. But Winternitz did not attach much importance to this point, but was more struck by the fact that this story occurs in a lambaka associated with the name of Vishamaśila or Vikramāditya² and concluded that a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya must have existed in the original *Bṛihat-kathā*. To

1. See Lacote; *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihat-kathā*, Pp. 164-165.

2. नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरोक्तेनाकरोत् पिता ।

तथा विषमशीलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतिः ॥

—*Kathā*, P. 567 (N. S. P. Edition).

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me, the conclusion does not seem to be justified. If Subandhu's epithet means anything, it must mean that all the lambakas of the *Bṛihatkaṭhā* were associated with 'śālabhañjikā', but the story of a woman turning into a śālabhañjikā occurs only in the Vishamaśālabhañjikā where Kalāvātī is cursed by Indra to be transformed into a statue (śālabhañjikā).¹ The only conclusion which can be drawn from these considerations is that while the possibility of the original *Bṛihatkaṭhā* having contained a cycle of stories relating to Vikrama is not absolutely ruled out, the passage from Subandhu cannot be interpreted to mean that.

The next earliest work to contain a definite reference to Vikramāditya is the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla. According to Keith, the work was produced in the period from A. D. 200 to 450.² Winternitz allows an earlier date for Hāla, i. e., 1st or 2nd century A. D., as he comes, according to Purāṇic tradition, in the middle of the list of Āndhra kings who bore the name of Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana and who ruled from about the 3rd century B. C. to about the 3rd century A. D.³ Thus the date of Hāla is not certain, but there is no doubt that he lived sometime in the early centuries of the Christian Era and that is quite enough for our purpose. In his *Saptaśatī*, there is a clear reference to Vikramāditya:—

संवाहणमुहरसतोसिण्ण देन्तेण तुह करे लक्खम् ।

चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअं अणुसिखिअं तिस्सा ॥

1 यथा च छागनृत्तं तदृष्टं तेनापराधिना ।

ततः कलावतीमेवमाहूयेन्द्रः शशाप सः ॥

नृत्तार्थमस्य छागस्य येनावस्था कृतेदृशी ।

रागात्तं मानुषं गुप्तं यदिहानीतवत्पसि ॥

—*Kaīhā.*, P. 573, Verse 145.

2. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 224.

3 Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. III, Pp. 102-103.

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“By being pleased at being nicely massaged and transferring its लक्षा to your hand (लक्षं देन्तेण) her foot seems to have learnt to act like Vikramāditya who gives a lac into the hand (of his servant) being pleased with his help in destroying the enemy (संवाहणमुहरसतोसिण) ”¹

The interest of this passage is not only the mention of Vikramāditya by name, but the reference to the most important feature of the later Vikrama tradition, namely, his extraordinary generosity. This point will be elaborated later on.

Though the majority of scholars believe that Subandhu is earlier than Bāṇa on the ground that the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by the latter in the verse :—

कवीनामगलहर्षो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।

शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥²

is the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, Pt. R. V. Krishnamacharya argues in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* that Subandhu is later than Bāṇa.³ Even if he is later than Bāṇa, he cannot be much later and a reference to Vikramāditya in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* must be looked upon as an early reference. The following verse contains such a clear reference:—

सा रसवत्ता विहृता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्कः ।

सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

“Ever since Vikramāditya passed away, all taste has disappeared from the world, new and inferior poets and patrons are flourishing and who does not do what, just as when the lake dries up, all swans disappear, cranes do not flourish and Kaṅka birds do not fly.”⁴

1. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, V. 64 (N. S. P. Edition).

2. *Harshacharita*, Intro Verse No. 11.

3. *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction P. xxxiff.

4. *Vāsavadattā*, P. 11 (Vāṇī Vilāsa Edition).

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This verse also records another important element in the Vikramāḍitya tradition, namely, that king's patronage of the literary arts.

Stray verses referring to Vikramāḍitya and mentioning one or more of the features found in the Vikrama tradition are found scattered in Sanskrit literature. For instance, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja has the verse :

केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य राज्ये प्राकृतभाषिणः ।

काले श्रीसाहस्राब्दकस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः ॥¹

Āḍhyarāja is explained by the commentator as Śālivāhana whom tradition associates with Prākṛita as persistently as it associates Sāhasāṅka or Vikramāṅka with Saṁskṛita. The *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* quotes a verse praising the generosity of Vikrama :

कीर्तिस्ते दयिता तदीयजठरे लोकत्रयं वर्तते

तस्मात्त्वं जगतः पिता पितृधनं येनार्थिनां त्वद्धनम् ।

वीरश्रीवर विक्रमार्क भवतस्त्यागं न मन्यामहे

कस्त्यागः स्वकुटुम्बपोषणविधायर्थव्ययं कुर्वतः ॥²

These stray verses coming down at least from the time of Hāla are an indication of the way in which the Vikramāḍitya tradition was growing in the country.

Exactly when all this tradition grew sufficiently to find expression in a cycle of stories centering round Vikrama and collected together in one work or forming a distinct part of a more comprehensive work is not easy to say. The fact that so many kings ruling over different parts of India in the early centuries of the Christian Era are anxious to take the title of Vikramāḍitya is a proof that

1. Bhoja in *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, II. 15 (N. S. P. Edition).

2. *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, P. 122, Verse 181.

the tradition had grown sufficiently and taken roots in the imagination of the people. The earliest work which we actually have containing a cycle of Vikramāditya stories is the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī* of Kshemendra written probably about 1037 A. D. Not far removed from it is the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, written between 1063 and 1081 A. D. Coming as they both do from Kashmir, they agree to a very great extent in the stories centering round Vikramāditya. The divisions of both these works are called lambakas and in both stories relating to Vikramāditya are found, mainly in the Vishamaśīla-lambaka which is the 10th lambaka in the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī* and the last one in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

After these two works belonging to the eleventh century, we come to another work *The Simhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā* which is a collection of stories all of which celebrate the exploits of Vikramāditya. The *Simhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā* is available to us in as many as five recensions four of which have been critically edited and translated by Prof. Edgerton in the Harvard Oriental Series Vols. 27 and 26. As all the stories are told to King Bhoja of Dhārā who ruled in the first half of the 11th century A. D., the work cannot be earlier than that, but the mention of Hemādri, the author of the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, in the Southern recension makes it certain that at least that recension is as late as the 13th century A. D.¹ The work is known by many names :—विक्रमाकचरित, विक्रमादित्यचरित, सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका, सिंहासनकथा, सिंहासनोपाख्यान, द्वात्रिंशत्पुस्तिकाख्यान, विक्रमादित्यसिंहासन-द्वात्रिंशिका, सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशत्-शालभञ्जिका, etc., in the different

1. हेमाद्रिप्रतिपादितदानखण्डोक्तगोदानभूदानकन्यादानविद्यादानान्न-
दानोदकदानादिदानानि श्रुत्वा

—*Vikrama's Adventures*, H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 79.

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manuscripts of the different recensions. After a careful study of all the recensions, Prof. Edgerton came to the conclusion that they all go back to an original which is not now available.¹ It is remarkable that the stories found in this work are totally different from those which are found in the *Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī* or the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, though the character of Vikrama is approximately the same everywhere. Of the four recensions edited by Prof. Edgerton, one is entirely in verse, another entirely in prose and very brief and the remaining two, the Southern and the Jainistic ones, are in mixed prose and verse. In spite of this point of resemblance between these two recensions and works like the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* there is no special intention to teach morals or nīti in the *Vikramacharita*. The main intention seems to be just to tell the story and to glorify Vikramāditya. Prof. Edgerton has considered at length the authorship of these five recensions of the *Vikramacharita* and his conclusion may be stated in his own words : "We know nothing of the authorship of the original *Vikramacharita* nor do we know who the redactors of the individual versions were, except in the case of JR (Jainistic recension) and perhaps of Var R."²

The Jainistic recension is attributed to one Kshemaṅkara Muni and the Vararuchi recension to one Vararuchi.

The very existence of the Jainistic recension is a proof of the great interest which the Jains took in the Vikramāditya tradition. This interest can be traced in the *Pārśvanāthacharita* of Vādidevasūri where there is a cycle of stories centering round Vikramāditya

1. *Vikrama's Adventures*—Translation, H. O. S. 26, P. XXX.

2. *Vikrama's Adventures*—Translation, P. LVIII (H. O. S. Vol. 26).

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who appears as a parrot and in the *Pañchadaṇḍachhattra-prabandha*, the story of the parasol having five handles, belonging to the 15th century. The Vikrama tradition as found in Jain works is naturally coloured by Jainism.

Two more works incorporating the Vikramāditya tradition must be mentioned : the *Viracharita of Ananta and Śālivāhanakathā of Śivadāsa* *Viracharita of Ananta and the Śālivāhanakathā of Śivadāsa*. The interest of these two works lies in the emphasis which they put on one aspect of the Vikrama tradition, namely, the fight between Vikrama and Śālivāhana. The rivalry and enmity of these two personalities are not confined to the political field. Even in the patronage of arts and letters, they stand for two different things. Vikrama is on the side of Sanskrit and Śālivāhana on the side of Prakrit.

Needless to say that the Vikrama tradition was passed on to the literatures of the modern Indian languages when these developed after the Apabhramṣa stage and practically all these languages have their cycle of stories centering round Vikrama. To cite only one instance, there is the *Mādhavānalakāmakandalā* of Gaṇapati, a work in Gujarati, belonging to the 16th century A. D. It is the story of how the two lovers Mādhavānala and Kāmakandalā are united by Vikrama who appears in the usual role of *परदुःखमञ्जन*, "one who helps those in distress". The work assumed very great popularity in Gujarat.

It now remains to study in some detail the different aspects under which king Vikrama is presented to us by tradition. Of all the different aspects of the character of Vikrama, that of *Vikrama's Generosity*

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generosity and charity is easily the most important. There is absolutely no limit to his generosity. As the first statuette declares in the *Vikramacharita* :—

निरीक्षिते सहस्रं तु नियुतं तु प्रजल्पिते ।
हसने लक्षमाप्नोति संतुष्टः कोटिदो नृपः ॥¹

“ At a look (from the king) a beggar received a thousand pieces of money; at a word spoken ten thousand; at a smile a hundred thousand; and if his favour was won, the king gave a crore.”² This idea is repeated again and again in the *Vikramacharita*. King Vikrama simply does not know the distinction between himself and others:—

तस्य चेतस्ययं परोऽयं मदीय इति विकल्पो नास्ति ।³

“In his heart never arose the question : is this man a stranger or does he belong to my side ?”⁴

The power of Vikrama's generosity did not die with him. After he died, his throne was buried in a field as there was no one considered fit to sit on it. Many many years afterwards, during the reign of King Bhoja, this field came into the possession of a Brāhmaṇa who erected a platform just at the place where the throne was buried, wherefrom he watched over the crops of the field. The power of the throne was so great that as long as the Brāhmaṇa was on the platform, he felt the most generous impulses and invited all and sundry to come and partake of the crop. As soon as he came down from the platform, these generous impulses left him and he began to chase those who had accepted his hospitality. This is what happened to King Bhoja and his followers, who were passing the Brāhmaṇa's field. Puzzled by this, King Bhoja

1. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 47.

2. H. O. S. Vol. 26, P. 52.

3. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 53

4. H. O. S. Vol. 26, P. 59.

himself mounted the platform and felt the same generous instincts. He wanted to remove the world's distress, to abolish poverty from the world ; he wanted to punish the wicked and reward the good ; he felt that he could even sacrifice his body if anybody required it :—
 भोजराजस्य चेतसि वासनैवमभूत् । ननु विद्वस्यातिः परिहरणीया, सर्वस्य लोकस्य
 दारिद्र्यचनिवारणं विधेयम् । दुष्टा दण्डनीयाः । सज्जनाः पालनीयाः । प्रजा धर्मेण
 रक्षणीयाः । किं बहुना । अस्मिन् समये यदि कोऽपि शरीरं प्रार्थयिष्यति तदपि देयम् ।¹
 King Vikrama's generosity often took the extraordinary form of surrendering the fruits of his own labour to some needy person. Once he learnt from an ascetic the magic rite for attaining immortality and spent a whole year in practising this rite with all its hardships. At the end of the year, a divine being surged forth from the sacrificial fire and gave the king the fruit of immortality. The king took it and returned to the city. On the way, he met one who was afflicted with leprosy and was about to die. He gave him the divine fruit.² On another occasion, when he saves a Brāhmaṇa couple from drowning, the latter gives him, in gratitude, all the 'puṇya' of his previous pious deeds. Immediately afterwards, Vikrama meets a 'Brahmarākshasa' to whom he transfers the Brāhmaṇa's 'puṇya' so that he may be saved from the awful condition of being a Brahmarākshasa.³ Similarly Vikrama obtains a Kashmirian liṅga which granted all desires from an ascetic to whom he had told the story of King Rājasekhara. On the way home, he meets a poor Brāhmaṇa to whom he gives away the liṅga.⁴ His generosity sometimes takes unusual forms. On one occasion, his priest Vasumitra went to bathe in the Ganges at Benares and Prayāga and on the way back came

1. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 23.

2. H. O. S. 27, Pp 95-96.

3. H. O. S. 27, Pp 115-116.

4. H. O. S. 27, P. 123.

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to a place ruled by the nymph Manmathojjivani. She was unmarried and had taken the vow to marry only one who has the courage to plunge in boiling oil. The priest reports this to King Vikrama who goes there and actually jumps into boiling oil. The nymph heals his burnt body and gives him a beautiful form and is quite ready to marry him. But the king, out of sheer generosity, requests her to marry the priest Vasumitra.¹ His generosity extends even to his enemies. That is how he once threw himself into the sacrificial fire to save his rival from the trouble of doing so every day according to the instructions of the goddesses whom he sought to please for obtaining wealth to be given away.² King Vikrama once expresses himself as follows on the greatness of generosity and charity:—

आरोहन्ति सुखसनान्यपटवो नागान् ह्यांस्तज्जुष-
स्ताम्बूलाद्युपभुञ्जते नटविटाः खादन्ति हस्त्यादयः।
प्रासादं चटकादयोऽपि निवसन्त्येते न पात्रं स्तुतेः
स स्तुत्यो भुवने प्रयच्छति कृती लोकाय यः कामितम् ॥³

“Even stupid men mount upon seats of ease and those who possess them, upon elephants and horses; betel and such (luxuries) are eaten by actors and libertines; elephants and other (beasts) devour food; even sparrows and other (birds) dwell in mansions. Such creatures are not fit objects of praise. That man is truly worthy of praise upon earth who actively engages in giving to people their desires, (or perhaps, who virtuously gives to people their desires)”.⁴

Next to generosity, the tradition celebrates Vikrama's courage. We have seen already how he gives away freely what

Vikrama's Courage

1. H. O. S. 27, Pp. 128-129.

2. H. O. S. 27, P. 138.

3. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.

4. H. O. S. 26, P. 254.

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has been won by courage and endurance. The two are frequently mentioned together in the texts:—

तत्र विक्रमतुङ्गाख्यो राजाभूत् सत्त्ववान् पुरा।

योऽभूत् पराङ्मुखो दाने नार्थिनां न युधि द्विषाम्॥¹

“In the old days, there (in Pāṭaliputra) lived a king called Vikramatuṅga who never shrank from charity to the needy nor from battle with his enemies.”

साहस उद्यमे धैर्ये च तत्समो नास्ति।²

Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish between Vikrama's courage and generosity. The former is the generous gift of the most precious of all the things which he had, namely, his own life. Thus he was once ready to cut off his own head, as an offering to Goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, in order that the headless bodies of a man and a woman may come back to life.³ On another occasion also, he is ready to offer his head to a goddess in order that she may bring water to a tank.⁴ How he once plunges into boiling oil, an act of no mean courage, has already been mentioned. Not infrequently, Vikrama's courage takes the form of actual fights with evil beings and their destruction. Thus he kills a Rākshasa who used to torment a woman every night:—

तत उभयोर्युद्धं जातं राज्ञा मारितो राक्षसः।⁵

Helping those who are in distress was looked upon as the most legitimate use of his courage by Vikrama. That was how he once offered himself to be sacrificed to the Goddess Śaṇitapriyā of Vetālapura in place of the human victim of that day who was being dragged to

1 *Kaithāsaritśāgara*, P. 160, Verse 54 (N. S. Edition).

2. H. O. S. 27, P. 53.

3. H. O. S. 27, P. 80.

4. H. O. S. 27, P. 85.

5. H. O. S. 27, P. 108.

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be slaughtered in the very presence of Vikrama.¹ The goddess was so pleased with his courage and generosity that she even offered to refrain from taking human victims in the future.

Vikrama's courage was of a most comprehensive kind. It was associated not only with physical endurance, but also with nerve. He could not only face human enemies, but could deal with ghosts. In Avantipurī, there lived a very rich merchant who built for himself a magnificent mansion at very great expense. Then on an auspicious day, after performing all the prescribed ceremonies meant to propitiate the higher powers, he began to live in it. On the very first night, the merchant had hardly lied down on his bed when he heard somebody shout "I am falling". Knowing that there was nobody in the house but himself, he was puzzled and then terrified. He lighted a lamp and went to bed again but again heard the same voice call out "I am falling". His terror increased and he passed the night somehow without sleeping. The next day he reported the whole incident to King Vikrama. The king, realising that the merchant was in terror and was probably feeling regret for having spent such a large sum of money on a haunted house, offered to buy it at cost price. The merchant was pleased and agreed to it. When the transaction was completed, the king decided to spend the night in the house himself, against the advice of all his friends. When he lay down in bed, he heard the same voice call out "I am falling". The king replied "By all means do and you had better hurry up." Then a golden statue of a man fell and the spirit which was presiding over it congratulated the king on his courage, showered

1. H. O. S. 27.

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flowers on him and disappeared. Next day, the king took the statue to his palace.¹

Not only was Vikrama himself very courageous, but he had a liking for those who were courageous and was prepared to overlook their other faults. That is why he gave protection to the son of a Brāhmaṇa who was loved by and was living with a woman whom he had saved from the fury of a mad elephant when everybody else had deserted her including her husband. The man and the woman were, of course, not quite happy, as they were being watched and criticized by others. But Vikrama had a weakness for such dare-devil characters :—

एवं च साहसधनेज्वयं बुद्धिमत्सु

संतुष्य दाननिरताः क्षितिपा भवन्ति ॥²

“Thus kings, being pleased with the brave and the intelligent, become generous towards them.”

The courage of Vikrama was used for the protection of Dharma and for the destruction of all those who swerved from the path of Dharma. The idea that he destroyed all those foreign peoples who tried to invade India and destroy her ancient culture is often expressed in the literature. Here is a typical statement from the *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī* :—

अथ श्रीविक्रमादित्यो हेलया निर्जिताखिल—

म्लेच्छान् काम्बोजयवनान् नीचान् हृणान् सबर्बरान् ॥

तुषारान् पारसीकांश्च त्यक्ताचारान् विशृङ्खलान् ।

हत्वा भूभङ्गमात्रेण भुवो भारमवारयत् ॥³

Another aspect of Vikrama which is often stressed by tradition is his magical power, his control of semi-divine

Vikrama's Magical Powers

1 H. O. S. 27, P. 239

2. *Kaithāsarisāgara*, P. 122 (N. S. Edition)

3. *Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī*, P. 433.

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beings and genii. When Madanamañjarī, the wife of Mañibhadra, brother of Kubera, is tormented by a Kāpālīka who performed a gruesome rite on the cremation ground in order to attract her towards him, she appeals to Vikrama, who at once appears and summons the Vetāla Agniśikha and tells him to deal with the wicked Kāpālīka as he deserves.¹ In one of the stories of the *Vikramārka-charita* we are told how the king actually came by his Magic Powers. Once upon a time, a naked ascetic came into the king's presence and pronounced a blessing upon him. Then he invited him to go to the crematorium and help him in performing a ceremony. The king did accordingly, but found that the ascetic was trying to sacrifice him to the deity. The king proved a match for the ascetic who was himself offered up instead. It was at this ceremony that a vampire (Vetāla) became attached to the king and gave him the Eight Magic Powers.² On another occasion, he visits a Yogin who teaches him a 'mantra' with the help of which he obtains the divine fruit of immortality. On another occasion he was actually entertained by the personifications of the Eight Magic Powers. He was taken by a Brāhmaṇa named Anargala to a temple situated near a beautiful lake. In one part of the lake the water was hot. In the middle of the night eight divine women came out of the fair lake from the midst of the hot water and went into the temple and worshipped. In the morning they saw Vikrama, invited him to go to their city and entered into the hot water. The king did the same thing. They took him to their great city in the lower regions, honoured him and offered the kingdom to him. The king declined the kingdom and asked them who they were. They an-

1. *Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara*, P. 570 (N. S. Edition).

2. H. O. S. 27, P. 13.

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swered they were the Eight Magic Powers, *viz.*, *Aṇimā* (Minuteness), *Mahimā* (Greatness), *Laghimā* (Lightness), *Garimā* (Heaviness), *Prāpti* (Acquisition), *Īśitā* (Supremacy), *Vaśitā* (Dominion), *Prākāmya* (Irresistible Will). When the king prayed that he may be endowed with these Eight Powers, they gave him eight jewels which were endowed with these powers.

Vikrama's patronage of learning is another important element in the Vikrama tradition and to this day in India any king or chieftain who collects round himself a group of learned men and poets is compared to *Vikramāditya*. His generosity to the poor and the needy is only surpassed by his munificence towards poets and learned people. His love of Sanskrit language and literature has become proverbial. The nine 'gems' who flourished at the court of Vikrama include talents of all types: Poet (*Kālidāsa* and *Ghaṭakarpura*), Physician (*Dhanvantari*), Lexicographer (*Amarasimha* and *Kshapaṇaka*), Astronomer (*Varāhamihira*), Grammarian (*Vararuchi*). We have no information as to what was the special work of *Śaṅku* and *Vetālabhaṭṭa*. It is true that no work earlier than the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of the 16th century A. D. has been found in which this tradition is recorded, but there is no reason to doubt that the tradition is a much older one. It is true that we have plenty of evidence to show that these nine gems could not have been contemporaries. The tradition is none the less interesting because it emphasises the character of Vikrama as the patron of learning. As is the custom even today in all *darbars*, lavish praise was bestowed on the patron. The Jain version of the *Vikramacharita* gives us an idea of the kind of praise which must have been addressed to King

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Vikrama by the learned men assembled at his court.
Here are one or two specimens :—

अत्युक्तौ यदि न प्रकुप्यसि मृषावादं न चेन्मन्यसे
तद् ब्रूमोऽद्भुतकीर्तनाय रसना केषां न कण्डूयते ।
देव त्वच्चरणप्रतापदहनज्वालावलीशोषिताः
सर्वे वारिधयस्ततो रिपुवधूनेत्राम्बुभिः पूरिताः ॥¹

“If you will not be angry at an exaggeration nor hold it to be sarcasm, then we will say—for whose tongue does not like to praise marvels?—all the oceans, O Sire, which were dried up by the rows of blazing flames kindled by your youthful majesty, have since been filled by the water of tears of your enemies’ wives.”²

अत्युच्चाः परितः स्फुरन्ति गिरयः स्फारास्तथाभोधय-
स्तानेतानपि बिभ्रती किमपि न क्लान्तासि तुभ्यं नमः ।
आश्चर्येण मुहुर्मुहुः स्तुतिमिति प्रस्तौमि यावद् भुव-
स्तावद् बिभ्रदिमां स्मृतस्तव भुजो वाचस्ततो मुद्रिताः ॥³

“Very high the mountains spring forth on every side and extensive are the seas, yet you support them all and are not in the least wearied ; homage to you ! While I thus in admiration am making repeated praise of the Earth, then I am reminded that your arm supports Her and words fail me.”

But Vikrama was more than a mere patron of poets. In the anthologies which have
Vikrama a Poet come down to us from the past, there are some verses attributed to King Vikramāditya. For instance, in the *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (1467 A. D.) seven verses are attributed to him.⁴ In the *Śārngadhara-paddhati* (1363 A. D.) there are three such

1. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.

2. H. O. S. 27, P. 255.

3. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.

4. *Subhāshitāvalī*, Verses 506, 507, 1165, 1890, 3193, 3318 and 3494 (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

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verses¹; the *Vidyākaraśahasrakam* of Vidyākaramisra has also three of them²; the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdhara-dāsa (1205 A. D.) has eight of them; and the *Kavīndra-vachanasamuchchaya* has two of them.

Here again the question whether King Vikrama actually composed the verses which are attributed to him in the anthologies, it would be impossible to decide. Just now we are only concerned in analysing the different elements in the Vikrama tradition and the idea that Vikrama himself was a poet is an important element in that tradition. That so many Indian kings have cultivated literature and have left us works of no mean merit is really a continuation of this old Vikrama tradition. It will not be now out of place to give one or two specimens of verses attributed to Vikrama in the anthologies. Here is one from the *Subhāshitāvalī* :—

दृष्टं दुर्जनचेष्टितं परिभवो लब्धः समानाज्जनात्
पिण्डार्थं धनिनां कृतं झलदितं भुक्तं कपालेष्वपि ।
पद्भ्यामध्वनि संप्रयातमसकृत् सुप्तं तृणप्रस्तरे
यच्चान्यत्र कृतं कृतान्तं कुरु हे तत्रापि सज्जा वयम् ॥³

“I have seen the conduct of wicked people, suffered humiliation from equals, behaved like a humble dog before rich men for the sake of bread, eaten out of skulls, walked long distances, slept on the grass. O Fate! what has not been done yet, bring that also. I am ready for that also.”

Here is another from the same collection:—

विद्ययेव मदो येषां कार्पण्यं च घने सति ।
तेषां दैवाभिप्रायानां सलिलादग्निहृत्यतः ॥⁴

1. *Śārngadhara-paddhātī*, 277 (edited by Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series).

2. *Vidyākaraśahasrakam*, 170, 563 and 615 (edited by Dr. U. Misra, Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, Vol. II).

3. *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, No. 3193 (B. S. S.).

4. *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, No. 506.

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“Those who are conceited in the learning and miserly though full of wealth are really cursed by fate. For them verily does Fire come out of water.”

Here is one from the *Vidyākaraśahasrakam*, attributed to Vikrama and Kālidāsa jointly:—

अमृतं वदने हि योषितां हृदि हालाहलमेव केवलम् ।
अत एव निपीयतेऽधरो हृदयं मुष्टिभिरेव ताड्यते ॥¹

“There is nectar in the mouth of women, but only poison in their heart. That is why one drinks their lips, but squeezes their heart with the fist.”

Vikramāditya's name is associated in the tradition not only with poetry but also with works of a more serious nature. *Vikrama the Lexicographer and Author of a Work on Dhanurveda* The *Saṁsārāvartā* is a lexicographical work which is attributed to him. In Bühler's Report, P. XXXVI, a work on Dhanurveda is also attributed to him. It is only natural that one who was particularly good in the art of warfare and who is credited with having defeated the Śakas should also be associated with a work on the art of warfare, Dhanurveda.

The erotic tone of some of the verses cited above brings us to the subject of Vikrama and his relations with women. We have already seen how he rescues women from the clutches of vampires and demons. The *Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* describe how he acquires a large number of wives. In fact, on one occasion, after Vikrama had just married Malayavatī, the daughter of Malayasimha, and brought her to his capital, his chief queen Kaliṅgasenā felt a little jealousy and resentment,

1. *Vidyākaraśahasrakam*, No. 615 (Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, No 2)

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called Devasena, the king's gracious friend, and told him :

.....भ्रातः स्वामी ते बहुवल्लभः ।¹

“Your Master loves many women.”

But Devasena tried to comfort her by saying :

देवि स्वयं समायाति देवं दिव्याङ्गनाजनः ।²

“Divine women come of their own accord to His Majesty.”

The tradition, as recorded in the different works, certainly speaks of Vikrama coming by a large number of wives. In some cases, he declines the offer and urges the person concerned to become the wife of somebody else. In other cases, he accepts the offer. Thus, the king of Simhala offers his daughter in marriage to Vikrama with the words :—

.....अस्ति मम सर्वस्वं कन्यारत्नमनुत्तमम् ।

विक्रमादित्यदेवश्च रत्नानां भाजनं विभुः ।

समर्पितेयं वचसा मया तस्मै सुमध्यमा ॥³

“I have a jewel of a daughter, all I ever have. King Vikrama is the recipient of all jewels. Therefore, I offer my charming daughter to him.”

The offer is accepted. All the obstacles which arise in the way of her actually joining Vikrama are overcome and the marriage takes place. At about the same time, the two maidens who were created by Prajāpati in order to bring about a quarrel between Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa, the two demons, were ultimately left with Kubera, to be given to the most worthy person. It was ultimately decided that they should

1 *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, P 424 (N S. Edition).

2 *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, P. 424 (N S. Edition)

3. *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, P 413 (N S. Edition).

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be given to King Vikrama, being the most worthy person of his day :

एतयोर्विक्रमादित्यो देव एबोचितः पतिः ।¹

King Vikrama accepts the offer and marries them, too. In the meantime, Vikrama sees the picture of Malayavati, the daughter of Malayasimha, and after making great efforts and surmounting many obstacles, marries her, too.² Thus Vikrama marries four wives, one after another. On another occasion a Śabara, whom King Vikrama met in the forest and who rendered him and his friend Devasena much service, offers his daughter to Vikrama in marriage.³ Once Vikrama went to Pātālā and came back with a Nāga wife, Svarūpā by name. When he visited Gandharvaloka, he came back with Tārāvati. Thus wherever he went, he acquired new wives, sometimes thrust on him by others, on other occasions actually sought by him.

The Jains have taken over Vikrama into their tradition and, as already pointed out, there are many Jain works where Vikrama figures in some capacity or other. Needless to say that sometimes Vikrama is presented to us as a good Jain in these works. The Jainistic recension of the *Siṃhāsanaadvātrīṃśikā* tells us how the great Jain teacher, Siddhasena Divākara, converted Vikrama to his faith and makes the further remark *वर्धमानसंवत्सर-परावर्तमकरोत्*.⁴ This remark has been much discussed. Some have seen in it a reference to the founding of an era by Vikrama. Literally, it means : "He made a change in the era of Vardhamāna".

1. *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, P. 422 (N. S. Edition)

2. *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, P. 424 (N. S. Edition).

3. *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (N. S. Edition), P. 424.

4. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.

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The space allotted to this paper does not permit us to pursue the Vikrama tradition in all its detail in the Jain literature. Nor is it possible here to analyse the contents of the *Vīracharita* of Ananta which deals with Vikrama and Śālivāhana. We leave it to others more competent to deal with the problems relating to the identification of the Vikrama of the tradition with a particular king of ancient days. From the way in which he is presented in Sanskrit literature, he is King Arthur and Don Quixote rolled into one. But he is far more than that. He is an ideal.

THE GHATAKARPARA* PROBLEM

By

SADASHIVA L. KATRE, Ujjain

The *Ghaṭakarpara*, a small Sanskrit poem, has enjoyed immense popularity with old-type scholars for centuries and has been commented upon by several commentators, ancient and modern, including some of great note. MSS of the original poem and of its various commentaries are found numerous everywhere and it has also been printed a number of times at many places. Although its popularity has considerably waned with the advent of modern taste during recent decades, still literary critics and historians even now do not fail to allot some space in their works to the consideration of its worth, age, authorship, etc.

The poem contains^o twenty-two verses according to the general printed version which usually includes Verse 21 only as an interpolation. Readings and the sum-total of verses and the sequence of a few of them vary in different recensions as found in MSS and adopted by various commentators. Consequently, a

*The word is found to be spelt both as 'Ghaṭakarpara' and as 'Ghaṭakharpara' in old MSS. In Harishena's *praśasti* on the Allahabad Pillar 'Karapara' occurs as the name of one of the tribes subdued by Samudragupta.

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critical edition of the poem based on all the available recensions is a *desideratum*. In Appendix A I have furnished the recension adopted in Śāntisūri's commentary on the poem as contained in MS No. 505 of the Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, mainly because the commentary has probably not yet appeared in print and notes a verse (*viz.*, Verse 9) not found in the printed editions of the poem seen by me.

The *Ghaṭakarpara* belongs to the category of Dūta-Kāvyas since therein a collection of clouds is charged with the task of bearing a separated beloved's message to her lover who is wandering in some remote quarters far away from home even after the setting in of the rains. The actual message is contained in Verses 7-20. Verses 1-5, forming an introduction and depicting briefly the advent of the rainy season along with its consequences on nature's scenes and lovers' hearts, also appear¹ to be designed to be uttered by the beloved herself to one of her female friends. From the lips of the poet himself come three verses, *viz.*, Verse 6 making a third-person mention of the beloved and forming a connecting link between Verses 1-5 and 7-20, Verse 21 (interpolated and not traceable in many recensions including the one adopted by Śāntisūri) noting the lover's speedy return to home as effected by the message and Verse 22 wherein the poet makes a bold and boastful assertion regarding his unsurpassed skill in Yamaka, nothing less than riteously swearing by the sexual indulgences with his

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1. From the use of the vocative form 'Kundasamānadanti' in Verse 2 this seems to be the most satisfactory view and most of the commentators have adopted it. However, the verses have been attributed differently by a few commentators like Ramāpatimiśra (vide P.K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, 1940, P 298), etc. The figures in the above paragraph refer to the popular printed recension.

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ardently attached consort to bear water (for his whole life) in a potsherd (ghaṭakarpara) for any other poet who would vanquish him in that respect. It is from the use of the word 'ghaṭakarpara' in the poet's assertion in Verse 22 that the poem derives its strange title.

As many as eight metres, all middle-sized, are employed in this poem of barely twenty-two verses. The sentiment of love is drawn upon here with considerable elegance and simplicity and we meet with several touching, though cursory, allusions to the seasonal scenes such as clouds hovering in the sky, raining and thundering and associated with the lightning or the rainbow, waterfalls in hilly tracts, invisibility of the sun and the moon, starless nights, blue grass, blossomed Kadamba, Kuṭāja, Ketaka and Sarja trees, plight of swans, triumph of peacocks, the Chātaka bird crying for and receiving rain-water, fury of elephants, bees sucking jasmine-flowers, Cupid's respective operations on the hearts of lovers and beloveds in union or in separation, etc. Although the poet has devised fine Yamakas at the close of each pair of quarters,—and from his assertion in the last verse a display of his skill in Yamaka seems to be his main aim in composing the present poem,—yet he has done so with a charming ease and with the least degree of artificiality. Nowhere does the poetic charm appear to be marred or the easy sense of words to be sacrificed on account of the Yamakas. Hence the description of the *Ghaṭakarpara* simply as 'a highly artificial poem'¹ does not look appropriate and seems to be due to the western scholars' general aversion to artificial devices in Sanskrit poetry. In fact, to use the words of M. Krishnamachariar,² 'the author's poetry

1. M. Monier-Williams: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), P. 375b.

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937), P. 359.

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in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite' and the high estimation in which it has been held for so many centuries in India is not unjustified.

Of course, the poem contains nothing that is unique or extraordinary. Its extreme brevity does not appear to do full justice to the subject and testifies to the high soaring capacity of the poet's fancy or imagination only scantily. Although the cursory descriptions in the poem are in themselves poetic and enchanting, very little use is made of Arthālaṅkāras or figures of sense. Had the said Yamakas, too, been absent, the poem could even have been furnished as a specimen of poetry pure and simple yet effective. Even the poet's boastful assertion in the last verse appears nothing more than a juvenile challenge from a fresh but promising wrestler in the arena, since the artificial excellences in many other poems are definitely much more attractive than the general tri-syllabic Yamaka in this poem. Taking all these facts into consideration, the *Ghaṭakarpara* can best be described as a successful early attempt at fine composition of a rising poet showing much promise for the future. These findings will be of much help to us below while deciding the authorship of the poem.

Citations from the *Ghaṭakarpara* are usually not met with in important works on Poetics, but they are found in some important works on other subjects. Among the latter, two major commentaries on the *Amarakośa*, viz., the *Padachandrikā*¹

1. E. g., while commenting on the form 'Divākaraniśākarau' in *Amarakośa* I. 3 10, the *Padachandrikā* says: 'दिवाकरनिशाकरो' इति 'देवताद्वन्द्वे च' इति नानङ् । तत्र 'आनङ्गद्वन्द्वे' इत्यतो ग्रहणेऽनुवर्तमाने पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणेन वेदलोकसहचरितद्वन्द्वग्रहणात्, अस्य तु द्वन्द्वस्यातथात्वात् । अत एव 'रविचन्द्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ' इति घटकर्षः । —Folio 55a of MS No. 5659 of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

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(1474 A. C.)¹ by Rāyamukūṭa *alias* Brihaspati and the *Amarakośodghāṭana*² by Kshīrasvāmin (c. 1100 A. C.)³, cite passages from this poem to demonstrate the grammatical propriety of a seemingly questionable form of a compound or to illustrate the use of a homonym in a particular sense, etc. Madana in his poem *Kṛishṇalīlā* composed c. 1623 A. C. adopts almost all the lines of the *Ghaṭakarpara*, rhyming each of them with those of his own composition.

Commentaries on the *Ghaṭakarpara* have continued to be written to the other day. Among the last century's commentators is also Govardhana *alias* Gaṭṭulāla, the famous blind *āśukavi* from Gujarat, whose learned and elaborate commentary entitled *Chandrikā*, composed and first published in 1866 A. C., adequately exposes almost all the beauties of the poem. Of utmost importance from the chronological and other points of view are the *Ghaṭakarparakulakavivṛiti*⁴ and the *Ghaṭakarparaṭīpṇanaka*⁵ respectively by Abhi-

1 D. C. Bhattacharya : *Date and Works of Rāyamukūṭa* (IHQ, Vol. XVII, Pp. 456-471). The earlier view, promulgated by Aufrecht and others (vide CC, I, Pp. 27a, 526b, etc.) but now unchallengeably disproved by Prof Bhattacharya, had assigned the *Padachandrikā* to 1431 A. C. on account of an incidental mention of that year (i. e., Śaka 1353) in the body of the commentary.

2. Commenting on *Amarakośa* III. 3. 207 (भावः सत्तास्वभावाभिप्राय-
चेष्टात्मजन्मसु) the com. says ".....स्वभावे यथा—'भावानु-
रक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेयम्'....."—*Poona Oriental Series* No. 43
(1941), P. 321.

3 Kshīrasvāmin quotes Bhoja (c. 1050 A. C.) and is himself quoted in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* written by Vardhamāna in 1140 A. C.

4. Aufrecht : CC, I, P. 174a, II, P. 35b ; K. C. Pandey : *Abhinavagupta* (Benares, 1935), etc.

5. Dalal and Gandhi : *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS* (Baroda, 1923), P. 43, etc. MS No. 505 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, also contains Śānti-sūri's commentaries on the Yamakakāvya 1 *Vṛindāvana*, 2 *Ghaṭakarpara*, 3 *Meghābhayudaya* and 4 *Chandradūta* with the original and

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navagupta (c. 1000 A. C.)¹, the celebrated rhetorician and philosopher from Kashmir, and by Śāntisūri (c. 1100-1200 A. C.)², a Jaina writer who was the chief disciple and successor of Vardhamānāchārya of Pūrṇatallagachchha³. Among other old commentaries on the poem hitherto published, stocked or recorded are, besides a few anonymous ones,⁴ those⁵ by Vindhyaśvarīprasāda, Vaidyanāthadeva, Bharatamallika, Śaṅkara, Ramāpatimīśra, Govinda, Kuśalakavi, Aḍakamalla, Kamalākara, Tārāchandra, etc.

Coming to the question of the authorship of the poem, we are at once confronted with two rival claims. The popular view is that it was composed by a great poet

5 *Śivabhaḍraśāstra* without the original. Unluckily the last one or two folios are missing and no date can be traced in the MS which is, however, very old in appearance. Although the introductory and concluding passages in the com. on the *Ghaṭākharṇava* make no mention of the commentator's name in this MS as in the Jesalmere MS, he is none but Śāntisūri himself as can be decided by other evidence. In the prelude to his com. on the first Kāvya, viz., the *Vṛndāvana*, Śāntisūri clearly declares his pratijñā to comment on five Yamakakāvyas which include the *Ghaṭākharṇava*—“ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ वर्धमानं शुध्यमानं देवेन्द्रैः कृतसत्क्रियम् । वर्धमानं महामानं नत्वादेशितसत्क्रियम् ॥१॥ वृन्दावनादिकाव्याना यमकैरतिदुर्विदाम् । वक्ष्ये मन्दप्रबोधाय पञ्चानां वृत्तिमुत्तमाम् ॥२॥” (—Folio 1a).

1. P. V. Kane : *History of Alankāra Literature* (Bombay, 1923), P. LXXI.
2. Dalal and Gandhi : *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS*, Intro. P. 59; M. D. Desai : *जैन साहित्ययो संक्षिप्त इतिहास* (Bombay, 1933), P. 230.
3. Vide the colophon to the com. on the *Meghabhīṇya*—इति पूर्णतल्लगच्छसंबन्धिश्चैवर्धमानाचार्यस्वपदस्थापितश्रीशान्तिसूरिविरचिता मेघाभ्युदयलघुकावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ (—Folio 8a of MS No. 505 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain).
4. E. g. MSS Nos 3367 and 3409 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 352/1884-87, 695/1886-92, 157/1902-1907, 441/1895-1902 and 497/1891-95 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, etc.
5. Vide CC, I, Pp. 174a, 784a; II, Pp. 35b, 199a, III, P. 37b and the various earlier and later MSS catalogues

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(=*mahākavi*) who bore the very name Ghaṭakarpara and formed, like Kālidāsa, one of the celebrated nine jewels in the court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī as detailed in the following well-known verses of the *Jyotirvidābharāṇa* (XXII. 8 and 10) :—

“शङ्कुः सुवाग्बरश्चर्मगिरिङ्गुदत्तो जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरी घटकपर्पराक्षयः ।
अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वा यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासबोऽमी ॥”
“धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटकपर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वरश्चिन्व विक्रमस्य ॥”

The other view is that it is a composition of the great Kālidāsa himself. A solution of the question, however, can be attempted through a critical examination of old documentary evidence along with that of the pertinent statements of old commentators.

It is noteworthy at the outset that several old MSS¹ of the original poem do not mention the author's name at all and many commentators², too, are silent about the same. It is only due to the prevalence of the popular view that some editors or compilers³ mention Ghaṭakarpara as the author of the poem even

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1. E. g., MS No 3409 (undated but old in appearance and also containing an anonymous commentary after the conclusion of the original poem) of the S O Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 176 (iii)/A. 1882—83 and 466 (i)/1895-1902 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona (vide P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp. 285 and 288), Tanjore MS Serial No. 3761 (Vide *Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. VI, P. 2721), etc.
 2. E. g., Śāntisūri, Bharatamallika, Ramāpatimīra, etc., and the anonymous authors of the commentaries contained in MS No 3409 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 352/1884-87, 695/1886-92 and 497/1891-95 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, etc.
 3. E. g., R. L. Mitra: *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1888), Pp. 249-250, No. 3172. Bharatamallika's com. contained in the MS (dated Śaka 1650) described here concludes simply as “इति भरतमल्लिककृतौ घटकपर्परीका समाप्ता ॥” and does not mention the original author's name at all.

while describing such really anonymous MSS in their Catalogues.

Despite my best efforts I was able to trace only four MSS of the text and only three commentaries thereon that really name the poet as Ghaṭākarpāra :

The four MSS are Nos. 346/1892-95 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections¹, 9. C. 74 of the Adyar Library² and R. 3137 (f) and D. 11839 of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,³ the colophons whereof read इति श्रीघटकर्परविरचितं काव्यं (or यमककाव्यं) समाप्तं or so. However, none of these four MSS is dated.

Among the commentators, Govardhana who wrote as late as 1866 A. C. vehemently supports the ascription to Ghaṭākarpāra and opposes the same to Kālidāsa in his preface as follows :—

अयं तत्काव्यनिर्माता घटकर्परो नाम सत्कविः शककर्तुर्ज्जयिनीश्वरस्य सार्वभौमस्य महाराजविक्रमादित्यस्य राज्यावसरे तत्सदसि मान्यो विद्वानासीत् ।.....कश्चिदाशुनिको महाराष्ट्रभाषामये स्वग्रन्थे एतत्काव्यं कालिदासकृतमिति वदति तस्मिन्मूलम् । एतत्काव्यस्य निश्चायकप्रमाणाभावात् कालिदासकृतत्वे काव्यस्य घटकर्परेति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धिर्न स्यात् । अतो माघादिवदिवं घटकर्परकाव्यमिति कविनाम्नैव ग्रन्थनाम-प्रसिद्धेरवगमादिवं घटकर्परकृतमेव । युक्तं चेत् । उक्तश्लोके कालिदासात्पार्थक्येन घटकर्परनिर्देशात्तस्य भिन्नकवित्वावगतेः, काव्यकलापे निःसंदिग्धतत्कृतनीतिसाराख्य—ग्रन्थस्य दृश्यमानतया तस्य ग्रन्थान्तरकरणेऽप्यसंभवाभावात्, एतत्काव्येऽप्यन्तिमश्लोके कुम्भकपालवाचिना 'घटकर्पर'पदेन मुद्रालंकाररीत्या कविनाममुद्रणस्याप्यनुभयमान-

1. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, P. 287.
2. *Adyar Library Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS*, Part II (1928), P. 5. From the colophons kindly furnished to me by the Honorary Director I find that the other MS No. 39. B 8, though included in the *Catalogue* as ascribing the poem to Ghaṭākarpāra, is anonymous.
3. Vide the respective volumes of *Madras D. C.* and *T. C.* From the colophons etc. kindly furnished to me by the Curator I find that D. 11840, though included under poet Ghaṭākarpāra's name in the *Madras Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit MSS*, Part I (1938), P. 222, is really an anonymous MS.

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त्वाच्च तथैव विद्वत्प्रसिद्धेऽपि । एतत्काव्यपुस्तकेष्वपि सर्वत्र 'इति श्रीघटखर्परविरचितं यमककाव्यं संपूर्णम्' इति लेखो दृश्यते । तस्मादनेकप्रामाणिकसाधकयुक्त्यनूहीतादै-
तिह्यादिदं घटखर्परकृतमित्यवसीयते ।.....

Vaidyanātha, who composed his commentary *Kāvyaśāvalī*¹ probably in Śaka 1717 (=1795-96 A. C.) or 1757 (=1835-36 A. C.), ascribes the poem to Ghaṭakarpara in his introduction as follows :—

घटकर्परनामा महाकविरेकस्मिन्दिवसे वर्षाकाले काव्यप्रकाशाय स्त्रीपुंसावुप-
लक्ष्य यमकेन तत्कालं वर्णितवान् etc.

An anonymous commentary contained in MS No. 441/1895-1902, dated Śaka 1753 (=1831 A. C.), of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections² ascribes the poem while starting with to Ghaṭakarpara in these words: शृङ्गारो द्विविधः संभोगो विप्रलम्भश्च । विप्रलम्भो विरहाख्यः । तमेव वर्णयन् घटखर्परनामा कविर्यमकालंकारेणाह etc. But the colophon इति श्रीकालिदासकृतं घटखर्परकाव्यं समाप्तं occurring at the conclusion of the text in the same MS ascribes it to Kālidāsa !

Unknown to me there may be many other MSS and probably also some commentaries wherein the ascription to Ghaṭakarpara may be traced. But their testimony can add real weight to the above-mentioned evidence only if they bear considerably older dates. As it is, the evidence is of little value and does not appear capable of proving the authenticity or agelongness of the tradition that ascribes the poem to Ghaṭa-

1. Vide R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. VII (Calcutta, 1884), P. 232, No. 2475 The commentator mentions his date in the concluding verse reproduced in the *Notice* as 'इति टीका कृता वीराः प्रतिपत्तियता मया । द्विजश्रीवैद्यनाथेन शाके सप्तमसप्तमे ॥'. Here सप्तमसप्तमे (=5757) is obviously a mistake for सप्तमसप्तके (=1757) or सप्तकसप्तके (=1717).

2. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp 302-03.

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karpara, especially in view of the bulk and age of the evidence on the other side. The four MSS, as already mentioned above, bear no date at all and all the three commentators belong to extremely late dates. Govardhana's statements in defence of the tradition need not detain us as they are extremely uncritical and ignore grossly the bulky ancient evidence in support of Kālidāsa's authorship of the poem,—in fact he goes to the extreme of fathering the very idea of Kālidāsa's authorship of the poem on a contemporary Marathi author!—, although it need not be doubted that he had access to many MSS supporting the ascription to Ghaṭakarpara. His conjecture that the poet by using the word 'Ghaṭakarpareṇa' in the last verse has suggested his own name through the device of a figure of speech called *Mudrā*, ingenious as it may be, is baseless as the old commentators, most of whom explain the passage almost literally, are not found to refer to it.

Here it may not be out of place to review very briefly the position of the poet Ghaṭakarpara. The idea of his existence and adorning the great Vikramāditya's court as one of the nine jewels has now been deeply rooted in the minds of the Indians so much so that while some popular myths assign him to the community of potmakers or Kumbhakāras some extant Brāhmaṇa families try to derive their own origin from him¹. Still, we find little or no mention of him in genuine old literature! Probably the oldest allusion to his name and to the nine jewels collectively is in the pre-cited two verses of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* (XXII. 8 and 10) which, though claiming the great Kālidāsa's au-

1. E. g., the Khāparḍe family of Amraoti (Berar) as recorded by N. C. Kelkar in the Marathi *अभिनवकाव्यमाला*, Part III (Poona, 1915), in connection with the poet B. G. Khaparde.

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thorship, has now been substantially proved to be a forged work composed not earlier than the thirteenth¹ or even the sixteenth² century A. C. ! Many genuine old works allude to Vikramāditya's patronisation of Kālidāsa and of other bright stars not included in the list of the nine jewels, but an earlier allusion to the poet Ghaṭakarpara³ or to the nine jewels as located together in Vikramāditya's court has not yet been traced. Hence the very existence of the poet Ghaṭakarpara and of the nine jewels synchronously becomes extremely doubtful. The only other evidence that has come forth for the existence of Ghaṭakarpara is the ascription to him of the *Nītisāra*,⁴ a collection of twenty-one gnomic stanzas, originally included in the *Kāvyaśaṅgraha*⁵ published by J. Haeberlin at Calcutta in 1847. But the manuscript evidence for this ascription, too, appears to be meagre, for Aufrecht could record only a solitary MS of the same in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*⁶ posterior to its publication by Haeberlin. Further, there is nothing to prove the common authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpara* and the *Nītisāra*.⁶ Thus even if the existence of the poet

1. S. B. Dikshit : भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्र (Poona, 1931), Pp 212, 476.

2. A. B. Keith : *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), P. 534.

Contrast K. K. Lele and S. K. Oka : कालिदास व विक्रमादित्य यांच्या

कालनिर्णयाची एक दिशा (published in March, April and May 1922

issues of the now-defunct *Vividhādnyānavistāra* of Bombay) and S. K. Dikshit : *Chandragupta II, Śāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, Pp 191-210, 377-392), but for an appropriate criticism of the latter's views vide K. Madhava Krishna Sharma : *The Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa and Nine Jewels* (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, Pp 205-209).

3. Aufrecht : *CC*, Vol I, P. 299b, and others.

4. Ernest Haas : *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Palī Books* (London, 1876), P. 41.

5. Vol. II, P. 65a.

6. As Keith says, there is nothing distinctive in the verses of the *Nītisāra* (*HSL*, P. 201) which are in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion.

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Ghaṭakarpara were to be established on the basis of the ascription to him of the *Nṛtisāra*, it cannot go to prove his authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpara* since the rival claims of Kālidāsa for the same are far stronger and superior as I shall now proceed to show below.

In the course of my investigations I have traced out not less than twenty-two¹ old MSS and five commentaries that distinctly ascribe the poem to Kālidāsa. The said MSS are Nos. 3367 (dated Saṃvat 1814=1757 A. C.) of the S. O. Institute; 397/1887—91 (dated Saṃvat 1871=1814 A. C.), 631/1883-84, 633/1883-84, 60/1882-83, 27/1869-70 (dated Śaka 1737=1816 A. C.), 442/1899-1915, 157/1902-1907 and 46/1871-72 (dated Saṃvat 1792=1715 A. C.) of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections²; 3758, 3759, 3760, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768 and 3769 of the Tanjore Library³; 3795 of the India Office Library⁴; and D. 11841 of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library⁵, and their colophons read इति श्रीकालिदास-विरचितं घटखर्परकाव्यं संपूर्णम् or so. Since many of these MSS bear considerably old dates, their evidence is definitely of much more value than that of the four undated MSS ascribing the poem to Ghaṭakarpara.

1 I have not included in this number No 441/1895-1902 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections wherein, as already noted above, the anonymous commentator ascribes the poem to Ghaṭakarpara but the colophon to the text ascribes it to Kālidāsa.

2 Vide P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp. 285-305.

3. Vide *Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue* (Sanskrit), Vol VI, Pp 2716-2726. The last three MSS, as per their colophons extracted in the Catalogue, appear to ascribe the com. therein to Kālidāsa, but obviously it is the scribes' error.

4. Vide the *I. O. Catalogue*, Part VII.

5. Vide *Madras D. C.*, Vol. XX, P. 7921.

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Of still more importance is the evidence furnished by prominent commentators on the poem.

An anonymous commentary contained in MS No. 3367 (dated Samvat 1814) of the S. O. Institute and Śaṅkara's commentary contained in the undated Madras MS D. 11841 ascribe the poem to Kālidāsa only in their concluding colophons (इति श्रीकालिदासकृते घटकर्परकाव्ये टिप्पणं समाप्तिमगमत् or so).

Tārāchandra, whose commentary is contained in several MSS, one of them, viz. No. 121 (3)/1866-68 of the B. O. R. I Government Collections recording the date Śaka 1684 (=1762 A. C.)¹, commenting on the last verse says—कविः प्रतिज्ञामाह भावेति॥ भावानुरक्तमिति येन परेण कविना यमकैर्जीयेय तस्मै कवये घटखपरेणाहमुदकं बहेयम्। तस्य किंकरो भवामीत्यर्थः। इति प्रतिज्ञावृद्धीकरणार्थं शपथं प्राह कालिदासः etc. This shows that Tārāchandra has no doubt whatsoever about Kālidāsa himself having composed the *Ghatakarpara*. I have no means just now to settle the exact date of Tārāchandra, but he is certainly much earlier than 1762 A. C.

Kamalākara, son of Chaturbhuja, in his commentary *Ghatakarparayojinī*² similarly ascribes the poem to Kālidāsa himself. His concluding colophon reads—इति श्रीचतुर्भुजसुतभट्टश्रीकमलाकरविरचिता कविश्रीकालिदासकृतस्य घटकर्परकाव्यस्य घटकर्परयोजिनीटीका समाप्ता॥ In his prologue he says इह तावत्काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेदित्यादेः काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृत इत्यादिप्रयोजनैरपवादमवधार्य मेघदूत इव विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारवर्णनमल्पपद्यैश्चिकोर्षुः कविः श्रीकालिदासो विशिष्टशिष्टाचारानुमितश्रुत्युपदिष्टाभीष्टो-

1. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, P. 290 (निधिगजाङ्गमृगाङ्कमिते शके etc.).

2. *Ibid.*, Pp. 303-304 The scribe's concluding colophon in this MS (No. 46/1871-72 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections) reads: शके १६५७ संवत् १७९२ राक्षससंवत्सरे भाद्रकृष्णषष्ठ्यां दशपुत्रोपनाम्ना गोविन्देन लिखितमिति etc.

पायनकं शृङ्गारसाधनीभूतदीपनाद्यन्यतमनीरदाकाशप्राप्तिरूपत्वसुमङ्गलमाचरन् प्रोषितपतिकानाधिकायाः प्रवासिनायकं प्रति मेघस्य दौत्यसंदेशाय मेघाविर्भाववर्णन-मारभते etc. Herein Kamalākara completely identifies the author of the *Ghaṭakarpāra* with that of the *Megha-dūta*. M. Krishnamachariar¹ assigns this Kamalākara, who also wrote a commentary entitled *Sāhityasachchand-rikā*² on Lolimbarāja's *Harivilāsa*, to about the beginning of the 16th century A. C. and a MS of the *Ghaṭakarpārayojinī* bears the date 1735 A. C.

Of utmost importance is the evidence furnished by Abhinavagupta who in his *Ghaṭakarpāarakulakavi-vṛiti*³ distinctly records the tradition inherited by him about Kālidāsa having composed the poem in the words 'अत्र कर्ता महाकविः कालिदास इत्यनुश्रुतमस्माभिः' He also finds fault with the verse तासामृतुः सफल etc. and dismisses it as a later interpolation since in his opinion Kālidāsa could not even be dreamt of having composed such an obscene stanza—'न चास्य हव्ये तृणमात्रमपि कलङ्कपात्रमुत्प्रेक्षितवन्तो मनोरथेऽपि स्वप्नेऽपि सहृदयाः, तस्मात्प्राक्तन एव समाप्तिश्लोकः।' Abhinavagupta's unequivocal words must silence all misgivings about Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpāra* and the tradition concerned must be accepted as current since long before 1000 A. C.

Since the ascription of the poem to Kālidāsa is established firmly as shown above, the rival tradition fathering the poem on a separate poet named Ghaṭa-karpāra, though extremely popular at present, must be

1. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. 298.

2. *Aufrecht* : CC, II, P. 183b and P. K. Gode : *Lolimbarāja and his Works* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, P. 333)

3. K. C. Pandey : *Abhinavagupta*, Pp. 65 ff, 142, 347. In this learned commentary, too, as elsewhere, Abhinavagupta eulogises his preceptor Bhaṭṭendurāja or Indurāja in these words :

कवीन्दोरिन्दुराजस्य ते सच्चित्तविकासकाः ।

बोधशिवो विगाहन्तां भूर्भुवःस्वस्त्रयीमपि ॥

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dismissed now as being spurious and lately coined since the slender thread of scriptural evidence in its favour belongs only to recent centuries. The reason why the poem came to be named as *Ghaṭakarpara* appears, as duly explained by some old commentators¹, nothing but the use of that word by the poet in its last verse.

The poem, it is true, falls much below the level of Kālidāsa's standard poems. But the difficulty is at once got over if we only imagine it, like the *Ritusamhāra*, to have been composed by him when his poetic talent was yet in its infancy. Nay, we can then even find some secondary justifications inside the poem itself for its ascription to him. It is well known that Kālidāsa often repeats self-same ideas, expressions, poetic fancies, similes, etc. in his various works. The *Ghaṭakarpara* contains many passages which can, as shown by me separately in Appendix B, be very aptly compared from this point of view with similar passages in the poems *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta* and *Ritusamhāra*. Equally remarkable is his fondness for employing self-same devices (e. g. the lover in separation portraying the beloved in *Meghadūta* 110 and *Abhijñānaśākuntala* VI), sometimes also under obverted circumstances (e. g. the beloved lamenting for the deceased lover in *Kumārasambhava* IV and the lover lamenting for the deceased beloved in *Raghuvaṃśa* VIII), with a view to a successful delineation of the subject-matter or enhancement of the effect of the sentiment in hand. Employment in the *Ghaṭakarpara* of a collection of clouds as the separated beloved's messenger

1. E. g., Kamalākara thus accounts for the title :

घटखर्परेणानीय वहताद् घटखर्परम् ।

इति नाम्ना श्रुतं तस्माद्योजनं तस्य दुर्घटम् ॥

to the lover roaming in a remote quarter and again in the *Meghadūta* of a single cloud as the separated lover's messenger to the beloved at home is quite consistent with Kālidāsa's said practice. The obvious deviations in the parallel passages, devices, etc., occurring in the two poems rather mark the stages of development of his poetic faculty from comparative rawness to maturity, from boyhood to youth. Kālidāsa himself might have realised subsequently the various shortcomings of his earlier composition and set again to deal with the same topic under altered conditions with a master hand in his mature poem. It is probably thus that we find him in the *Meghadūta* selecting one major metre instead of a diversity of middle-sized ones, raising the number of stanzas by about a century with a view to creating a much wider range for a free and uniquely effective exercise of his poesy and fancy, making the separated lover, instead of the separated beloved, take the initiative, employing a single cloud, instead of several ones, to be the messenger and inventing several other poetic means and methods to make the poem a perfect success. The style, too, appears to have undergone considerable modification, as for instance the sensualist in Kālidāsa originally so crude and vulgar as to utter directly भावानुरक्त-
बनितासुरतैः शपेयम् ultimately becomes polished enough to suggest almost the same sense indirectly per the paronomastic line ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः (*Meghadūta* 43). It is also likely that Kālidāsa lately detected the vainness of his boastful assertion regarding the unsurpassability of his skill in Yamaka in the closing verse of the *Ghaṭākarpāra* and found it morally necessary to make a second display of the same skill in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* where it is certainly far more fascinating than in the *Ghaṭākarpāra*. Thus the

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ascription of the *Ghaṭakarpara* to Kālidāsa is not unaccountable at all.

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For want of space I have not treated in this paper the views expressed recently by some scholars (1) that Kālidāsa himself was at some stage known as poet Ghaṭakarpara, and (2) that the so called poet Ghaṭakarpara is identical with Bhāsa, the celebrated predecessor of Kālidāsa. I hope to deal with these views in detail in a separate paper, but cannot help recording here that the first of these is based simply on imagination and not on scriptural evidence and that the second appears to rest mainly on an alleged passage in Hemachandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* which cannot be traced by me in any available MS or in the *Kāvyaṃālā* edition (N. S. P., 1901 and 1934 impressions) and the edition of R. C. Parikh and R. B. Athavale (Bombay-Ahmedabad, 1938) of that work !

* * * * *

J. B. Chaudhuri has tried to establish¹ that the earliest imitation of the *Meghadūta* is not the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī (c. 1200 A. C.) as held hitherto but the *Chandradūta* of Jambūkavi which he assigns to c. 950 A. C. While I have no hesitation to concur with him as regards the date fixed by him, I cannot help remarking that the *Chandradūta* is an imitation of the *Ghaṭakarpara* rather than of the *Meghadūta*. The reasons are quite plain. The *Chandradūta* is as much a Yamakakāvya as a Dūtakāvya, contains only twenty-three stanzas of Mālinī metre, employs the messenger,

1. Vide his edition of the *Chandradūta* (Calcutta, 1941), Intro. Pp. 11-17. In fact the date had already been suggested by L. B. Gandhi on P. 58 of his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS.*

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viz. the moon, to bear the separated beloved's message to the lover who is abroad even during the rainy season and in this way, as also from the point of view of style and treatment of the topic, resembles the *Ghaṭakarṣaṇa*¹ far more than it does the *Meghadūta*.

1. An additional point of resemblance between the two poems is that both have been commented upon by Śāntisūri and also included together in several MSS.

THE GHATAKARPARA PROBLEM

Appendix A

घटकर्परकाव्यम्

(Śāntisūri's Recension¹)

निचितं खमुपेत्य नीरदः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदः।
सलिलैर्निहितं रजः क्षितौ रविचन्द्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ ॥१॥
हंसा नदन्मेघभयाद् द्रवन्ति निशामुखान्यद्य न चन्द्रवन्ति।
नवाम्बुमत्ताः शिखिनो नदन्ति मेघागमे कुन्दसमानदन्ति ! ॥२॥

मेघावृतं निशि न भाति नभो वितारं
निद्राभ्युपति च हारि सुखसेवितारम्।
सेन्द्रायुधश्च जलदोऽद्य रसस्निभानां
संरम्भमावहति भूधरसंनिभानाम् ॥३॥

सतडिज्जलदार्पितं नगेषु स्वनदम्भोधरभीतपन्नगेषु।
परिधीररवं जलं दरीषु प्रपतत्यद्भुतरूपसुन्दरीषु ॥४॥

क्षिप्रं प्रसादयति संप्रति कोऽपि तानि
कान्तामुखानि रतिविग्रहकोपितानि।
उत्कण्ठयन्ति पथिकाञ्जलदाः स्वनन्तः
शोकः समुद्भवति तद्वनितास्वनन्तः ॥५॥

छादिते दिनकरस्य भावने खाज्जले पतति शोकभावने।
मन्मथे च हृदि² हन्तुमुद्यते प्रोषितप्रमदयेदमुद्यते ॥६॥
सर्वकालमवलम्ब्य तोयदा आगताः स्थ दयितो गतो यदा।
निर्घृणेन परदेशसेविना मारयिष्यथ हि तेन मां विना ॥७॥
भूत तं पथिकपांशुलं घना यूयमेव पथि शीघ्रलङ्घनाः।
अन्यदेशरतिरद्य मुच्यतां साथ वा तव वधूः किमुच्यताम् ॥८॥

³कोकिलास्वनवकोककूजिते मन्मथेन सकले शने जिते।
निर्गतोऽसि जिव ! मासि साधवे नोपयासि शयितेऽपि साधवे ॥९॥

1. MS No. 505 of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, contains Śāntisūri's com. on the *Ghaṭākarpāra* along with the original text. However, I have restored Śāntisūri's recension mainly from his com. and have pointed out major deviations in the text in the MS in the footnotes below.

2. This word does not appear to be noted in the com.

3. This verse which is not found in the general printed recension has been restored here solely from the com. The text in the MS does not read this verse at all.

हंसपङ्क्तिरपि नाथ ! संप्रति प्रस्थिता वियति मानसं प्रति ।
चातकोऽपि तृषितोऽम्बु धाचते दुःखिता पथिक ! सा प्रिया च ते ॥१०॥

¹शष्पजातमतिभाति कोमलं वारि विन्दति च चातकोऽमलम् ।
अम्बुदैः शिखिगणो विनाद्यते का रतिः प्रिय ! मया विनाद्य ते ॥११॥

मेघशब्दमुदिताः कलापिनः प्रोषिताहृदयशोकलापिनः ।
तोयदागमकृशा च साद्य ते दुर्धरेण मदनेन साद्यते ॥१२॥

किं कृपापि तव नास्ति कान्तया पाण्डुगण्डपतितालकान्तया ।
शोकसागरजलेऽद्य पातितां त्वद्गुणस्मरणमेव पाति ताम् ॥१३॥

कुसुमितकुटजेषु काननेषु
प्रियरहितेषु समुत्सुकाननेषु ।
बहति च कलुषं जलं नदीनां
किमिति च मां ²समवेक्षसे न दीनाम् ॥१४॥

मार्गेषु मेघसलिलेन विनाशितेषु
कामो धनुः स्पृशति तेन विना शितेषु ।
गम्भीरमेघरसितव्यथिता कदाहं
जह्यां सखे ! प्रियवियोगजशोकदाहम् ॥१५॥

³नववारिलवैर्विराजितानां
स्वनदम्भोधरवातवीजितानाम् ।
मदनस्य कृते ⁴निकेतकानां
प्रतिभान्त्यद्य वनानि केतकानाम् ॥१६॥

तत्साधु यत्त्वां सुतत्⁵ ससर्ज
प्रजापतिः कामनिवास सर्ज ! ।
त्वं मञ्जरीभिः प्रवरो वनानां
नेत्रोत्सवश्चासि सयौवनानाम् ॥१७॥

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1. The text in the MS reads नीलशष्पमतिभाति etc.
 2. The text in the MS reads समपेक्षसे etc.
 3. The text in the MS furnishes this verse after the next four verses and before Verse 21 (तासामृतुः etc.) and there it reads सुसुगन्धितया विराजितानां etc,
 4. The com. reads निकेतनानां which, in view of the Yamaka, is obviously the scribe's error.
 5. The text in the MS reads सुतरं.

THE GHATAKARPARA PROBLEM

नव कदम्ब ! शिरोऽवनतास्मि ते

वसति ते मदनः कुसुमस्मिते ।

कुटज ! किं कुसुमैरवहस्यते¹

प्रणिपतामि² सुदुःप्रसहस्य ते ॥१८॥

कुसुमैरुपशोभितां सितैर्धनमुक्ताम्बुलवप्रकाशितैः ।

मधुनः समवेक्ष्य कालतां भ्रमरश्चम्बति यूथिकालताम्³ ॥१९॥

‘तरुवर ! विनतास्मि ते सदाहं

हृदयं मे प्रकरोषि किं सदाहम् ।

नवपुष्पनिरीक्षिता पदेऽहं

विसृजेयं सहस्रैव नीप ! देहम् ॥२०॥

तासामृतुः सफल एव हि या दिनेषु

सेन्द्रायुधाम्बुधरगजितदुर्दिनेषु ।

रत्युत्सवं प्रियतमैः सह मानयन्ति

मेघागमे प्रियसखीद्वचं⁵ समानयन्ति ॥२१॥

‘भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेय-

मालभ्य चाम्बु तृषितः करकोशपेयम् ।

जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण

तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकपर्परेण ॥२२॥

इति घटकपर्पराव्यम् ॥⁷

1-2. The text in the MS reads उपहस्यते and निपतितास्मि respectively

3. The com. after noting this verse reads ‘इति पर्यायश्लोकः’.

4. The scribe has duly noted the Pratika ‘तरुवर’ of this verse with a view to beginning its com. in the MS, but has inadvertently left out the whole com. on this verse along with a portion of the same on the next verse. In the third quarter of this verse the metre rather requires ‘कुसुम’ instead of ‘पुष्प’ furnished by the text in the MS.

5. Both the text and the com. read प्रियसखीद्वच.

6. Prior to this verse, several MSS and printed versions of the poem furnish the following verse, marked as Verse 21 (since Verse 9 कोकिलास्वनच etc. of Śāntisūri’s recension is absent in them) though generally regarded as an interpolation :—

एतन्निशम्य विरहानलपीडितायास्तस्या वचः खलु दयालुरपीडितायाः ।

स्वं स्वारावेण कथितं जलदैरमोघैः प्रत्याययौ सदनमूनदिनैरमोघैः ॥

The second half of this interpolated verse, too, involves many variations, but both the text and the com. in the MS under question take no note of the verse at all,

7. The com. concludes as ‘समाप्तमिदं घटकपर्परस्य टिप्पनकम् ॥’.

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Appendix B

Comparable Passages in Kālidāsa's Standard Poems

(The *Ghaṭākarpāra* Verse Nos. below refer to *Śāntisūri's* recension.)

1. मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्यथावृत्ति चेत् कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे or प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थं etc. (मेघ० 3-4), घनशब्दविवलवाः प्रियाः (मकार० IV. 11); तावदाशु विदधे मरुत्सखैः सा (पुरमार्ग-संस्क्रिया) घनैः (रघु० XI. 3). 2. त्वय्यासन्ने.....संपत्त्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः (मेघ० 23); शुक्लापाङ्गैः सजलनयनैः स्वागतीकृत्य केकाः प्रत्युद्यातो भवान् (मेघ० 22). 3. Contrast शरत्प्रसन्नमाकाशमाविष्कृतचारु-तारम् (रघु० XIII. 2); शैलोपमः सः (गजः) (रघु० V. 46), यस्य क्षरत्सैन्यगज-च्छलेन यात्रासु यातीव पुरो महेन्द्रः (रघु० VI. 54). 4. उद्भिन्नविद्युद्वलयो घनः (रघु० XIII. 21); तस्यापतन्मूर्ध्नि जलानि जिष्णोर्विन्ध्यस्य मेघप्रभवा इवापः (रघु० XIV. 8). 5. यो वृन्दानि त्वरयति पथि श्राम्यतां प्रोषितानां मन्दस्निग्धै-र्ध्वनिभिः (मेघ० 104), बलाहकाः.....तुदन्ति चेत् प्रसभं प्रवासिनाम् (ऋतु० II. 4), अपहृतमिव चेतस्तोयदैः सेन्द्रचापैः पथिकजनवधूनां तद्वियोगाकुलानाम् (ऋतु० II. 22). 7. Vide 1 above. 8. तत्पयोद प्रियायाः संदेशं मे हर (मेघ० 7). 9.परभूताभिरितीव निवेदिते स्मरमते रमते स्म वधूजनः (रघु० IX. 47). 10. तृषाकुलैश्चातकपक्षिणां कुलैः प्रयाचितास्तोयभरावलम्बिनः (ऋतु० II. 3); vide also 2 above. 11-12. प्रवृत्तनृत्यं कुलमद्य बहिणाम् (ऋतु० II. 6), तं मयूरं पञ्चादत्रिग्रहणगुहभिर्गजितैर्नर्तयेथाः (मेघ० 46), स्निग्धाश्च केकाः शिखिनां बभूवुर्यस्मिन्नसह्यानि विना त्वया मे (रघु० XIII. 27); vide also 2 above. 13. विक्षिपन्तीं शुद्धस्नानात्परुषमलकं नूनमागण्डलम्बम् (मेघ० 95); vide fur-ther मेघ० 90-92 etc. 14. स प्रत्यग्रैः कुटजकुसुमैः कल्पितार्घ्याय (मेघ० 4); कुसुमितासु वनराजिषु (रघु० IX. 34). 15. गुहाविसारीण्यतिवाहितानि मया कथञ्चिद् घनगर्जितानि (रघु० XIII. 28). 16 ff. कदम्बसर्जार्जुनकेतकीवर्तं विकम्पयन्तत्कुसुमाधिवासितः। ससीकराम्भोधरसङ्गशीतलः समीरणः कं न करोति सोत्सुकम् ॥ (ऋतु० II. 17). 17. सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् (मेघ० 71);.....कादम्बमर्धोद्गतकेसरं च.....बभूवुर्यस्मिन्नसह्यानि (रघु० XIII. 27). 19. मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्तमानः (कुमार० III. 36). 22. प्रस्थानं ते कथमपि सखे लम्बमानस्य भावि ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः (मेघ० 43). Parallel to the interpolated verse between Verses 21 and 22 there are a number of interpolated verses at the end of the *Meghadūta* in some recensions.

AMARA'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona

Tradition has associated Amarasimha as one of the nine jewels with the court of the fabled king Vikramāditya¹ whose identity is still involved in mystery despite the progress of historical studies. How far tradition and history coincide in actual fact so far as the great lexicographer is concerned, is still a matter of dispute, and no final judgement can yet be delivered. In fact it is yet a desideratum to trace the antiquity of this tradition on incontrovertible evidence before constructive historical imagination can build up a solid basis for further investigation. It is doubtful if any progress has been made with reference to Amara since Theodor Zachariae published his little monograph on the Kōṣa literature in 1897². For, the arguments marshalled since this date regarding the period to which Amara belongs are based on very slender grounds and on the evidence collated, not from Amara himself, but from the commentaries on his lexicon, composed centuries later.

1. A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Preface, Pp. i ff.

2. *Die indischen Wörterbücher* (Bühler's Grundriss, I Band, Heft 3B).

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Summarising the arguments contained in Zachariae's monograph and Winternitz's *Geschichte* Keith remarks:¹ "One of the earliest texts preserved for us is the *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasiṃha, called usually the *Amarakośa*. Its author is also known as a poet, and was certainly a Buddhist who knew the Mahāyāna and used Kālidāsa. His lower limit of date is dubious, he is certainly not known to the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi (A. D. 700) but the decline of Buddhism in India renders it improbable that he lived after the eighth century; his ascription to the sixth, however, rests on nothing better than the assertion that he was a jewel of Vikramāditya's court." The argument reproduced by the late Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in the Introduction to his edition of the *Kalpadrakośa* of Keśava², and repeated by Drs. Har Dutt Sharma and N. G. Sardesai in the Introduction to their edition of *Amarakośa* with Kshīrasvāmin's commentary³, that this fact of his having lived prior to the sixth century A. D. could be established on the ground that his work was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī in the sixth century rests ultimately on the authority of Lassen⁴, and since called into question by Bunyiu Nanjio⁵. So ultimately we are left in the air. The further arguments of Drs. Sharma and Sardesai⁶ based on certain comments of Kshīrasvāmin on the priority of Amara to the famous grammarian Chandra-gomin are only of probative value and lead us no nearer to the solution of the problem.

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 413.

2. GOS, Vol. XLII, P. xvii.

3. POS 43, P. iii.

4. *Indische Altertumskunde* IV, 633.

5. Georg Huth, *Die Zeit des Kālidāsa* (Berlin, 1890), Pp. 20 ff. quoted by Zachariae, *op cit* P. 20.

6. *Op. cit.* P. iii.

AMARA'S CONTRIBUTION

The popularity of Amara's lexicon can be gauged from the fact that there are over fifty commentaries on this text, and by the frequent quotations by commentators in later literature. Like Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* it has thrown the works of earlier authorities into oblivion and assumed a pre-eminent position in its own field. Attempts to date Amara from quotations have not been successful: the words *tantram pradhāne siddhānte* found quoted in the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* of Jinendrabuddhi by Sir Ramakrishna Gopala Bhandarkar¹ may indicate the priority of Amara to Jinendrabuddhi; but Keith's statement quoted above shows that he is not known to Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*, and this statement itself is in opposition to that of Bhandarkar! Thus a single approach to place Amara in his space-time context is bound to be limited in its value. It would, in my opinion, be more fruitful to consider some aspects of Amara's contribution to Indian lexicography; for here we shall be dealing with something which is more tangible, and so better suited to yield important results, than quotations or semi-historical traditions the antiquity of which has still to be determined. Moreover, as far as my knowledge goes, the study of the vocabulary as found in Amara's lexicon, or for that matter in the field of Sanskrit lexicography, in its historical setting of Indo-Aryan, has never been attempted properly². It is surprising that a large number of words found in *Amarakośa* are not attested in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit literature; the same is true of other lexicons, and such words have

1. Sharma and Sardesai, P. xi.

2. Mr. M. M. Patkar, B. A., of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, is preparing a Thesaurus of all published and unpublished Kośa works on scientific principles as adumbrated by me in my paper "On a Thesaurus Linguae Sanskritae" in the *New Indian Antiquary* 4.271-279. On its completion a great deal of historical light will be thrown upon Amara and other lexicographers.

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been indicated in Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by the abbreviation 'lex.', the exact references being given in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*. Rādhākānta's *Sanskrit Dictionary* is practically based on lexicographical texts, but a study such as I propose to indicate here—naturally briefly, in view of the extremely limited space available here—has long been a desideratum.

The first question that we have to ask ourselves is : what is the nature of the vocabulary that is incorporated in a Sanskrit lexicographical work ? Such a vocabulary cannot be artificial, built up by the lexicographer at the spur of the moment to suit his metrical sense ; for in that case it ceases to have a value for those for whose benefit the lexicon has been compiled. Thus the artificial creations must be limited to cases where the lexicographer has sanskritised a vernacular expression current during his days in the *śiṣṭa* speech and their number cannot therefore be considerable. The second point which must be obvious to any person using a lexicon is the reference value of the work : the vocables must be such, as far as possible, that they have been used in literary compositions current at that period, or such as obtain currency in the cultured speech of the people; if these conditions are not satisfied the lexicon loses its value and may entirely disappear owing to lack of popular support. If these points are granted it follows immediately that the vocables listed in a lexicon, if the lexicon is particularly ancient, must have been current during the period of the lexicographer—if the language was in use for common speech or for literary composition—or at a period anterior to him. In the first case we get contemporary vocables for the correctness of which the lexicographer himself can vouch ; in the second case we

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must assume that the ancient lexicographer, like his modern descendant, collected material from texts available to him, from actual literary usage; otherwise the charge of artificiality must for ever destroy the testimony of his work, and this, as we have seen, can hold good only for a very small number of vocables. We are thus led to the conclusion that, in general, the vocabulary given by the lexicographer must have a basis in the literary tradition inherited by him, and may further reflect the usages current during his own time, holding good for the country as a whole, or for the particular province where he had his being.

In the light of the above conclusion we should try to explain the curious fact that a very representative proportion of the vocabulary in Amara's lexicon is not supported by quotable instances from extant Sanskrit literature. A consideration of the problem shows that we can approach it from several angles. One method is to discover the number of vocables in *Amarakośa* which reflect only Vedic usage, that is, to determine the number of words attested in those particular significances only in Vedic literature and having no quotable examples in classical Sanskrit literature. This will constitute the archaic element in his vocabulary which has not survived in the later period. From the nature of his lexicon, the number of these vocables should be small. A second strand is constituted by those vocables which, though not attested in the Sanskrit literary tradition, find quotable instances in Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and other Middle Indo-Aryan literary languages, thus testifying to the genuineness of the tradition. Another method is to distinguish the new forms coined by the lexicographer himself on the basis of older material, with or without any nuances of meaning. This

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type of vocable will be particularly interesting to the modern Indian mind as showing the manner in which our ancestors managed to enrich their vocabulary without having recourse to actual borrowing from non-Sanskritic languages. These fresh formations can show us the principles which guided the ancient lexicographers in arriving at their goal of finding newer expressions to meet the exigencies of unexpected situations rising from the necessity of constant change. Finally we may discover a fairly well distributed type of vocable, mostly of a technical nature, representing items of fauna and flora, of doubtful linguistic source.

The classification suggested above is bound to be altered when our knowledge of Sanskrit vocabulary in its historical setting gradually increases; for with the advance made in fixing the chronology of Sanskrit authors, with the discovery of fresh works of these authors, and the consequent gain both in the number of vocables and quotable instances of these, one type of vocable may then be transferred to another type. Nevertheless a knowledge of the distribution of these types in a given lexicon may act as an index to the probable age of the lexicographer, in the absence of any other collateral evidence.

It is not possible to deal with the whole of Amara's vocabulary in this manner within the limited space of a short paper; nor do I wish to present any final results here. The main object of this paper is to indicate a new method of analysis which may ultimately lead us not only to a better appreciation of the historical development of Sanskrit vocables, but also to a clearer understanding of the sources utilized by the lexicographer in the ultimate analysis.

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A number of words listed in *Amarakośa* have a history ranging back to Vedic literature and probably continuing up to his own period :

āmsaḥ 'shoulder (-blade)' found in the Ṛigveda and the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitās as also in Yājñavalkya and Śākuntala; *āmsau* 'two shoulders' in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra. — *āmsald-* 'lusty, strong' is found in Śat. Br., Pāṇini and Raghuvamśa. On the other hand Amara does not include expression like *āmsatram* (and °-tra-kośa-); *āmsa-daghnā-*, *āmsadhri-*, *āmsa-phalakām*, etc., which are recorded in Vedic texts; the last of these is also found in Suśruta. Similarly the words *āmsa-kūṭaḥ* (noted by Hemachandra) and *āmsa-mūlam* are not listed by Amara, though found in subsequent lexicons.

amhatih 'anxiety, distress, trouble' is in Amara 'gift' as opposed to 'illness' in Hemachandra and Medinī which also record the sense of 'gift'.

āmhā 'anxiety, trouble' is 'sin' in Amara whom Hemachandra follows. But words derived from the same base, such as *amhu-*, *amhūrā-*, *amhūraṇā-* and *amhoyā-*, mostly found in Ṛigveda, are not noticed here.

ā-kūpāraḥ 'the sea' with citations in the Vāj. Saṁ. and the Nirukta, listed by Amara, Trikāṇḍaśeṣha, Hemachandra and Medinī. No examples seem to have been found in later literature.

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Though not strictly pertaining to Amarakoṣa, the example of *ākshaḥ* 'axle' paralleled by *aksham* 'axle, axis' cited as from Vaijayanti in the commentary on Śiṣupālavadha, with a change of gender. Although both forms occur in Amara, this particular significance is not found there.

Of the compound words with *aksha-*, Amara gives only °-*darśaka-*, °-*devin-* and °-*dhūrta*; these may be compared with the number of well-attested expressions connected with the three forms *āksha-*, *akshā-* and *aksha-*.

akshavatī 'a game of dice' is also recorded by Hemachandra, and the Petersburg Dictionary mentions its occurrence at Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, while the Śabdakalpadrūma quotes from the Ādiparvan; the references to both in the critical edition of the Mbh. are 3.77.10 (without any variant) and 1.1.105 (with the variants °-*vedyām* corrupted to °-*vidyām*).

akshāgrakīlakaḥ 'linch-pin', identical with Hemachandra's *akshāgrakīlaḥ*, is not attested elsewhere; on the other hand the word *āṇiḥ* 'linch-pin' is recorded by the Trik., Hemachandra and Sāyaṇa, while the simplex *āṇi-* is listed by Amara as well. In the sense of 'the pin of an axle of a cart' *āṇiḥ* is found in the R̥gveda. This compound expression for which simpler words exist in Sanskrit as known to the lexicographers indicates that (a) such expressions are explanations given by the lexicographers for the words cited by them and

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(b) should not be considered as vocables cited by them. Nevertheless the whole expression has been registered in Sanskrit dictionaries as from Amara.

akshikūṭakam 'eye-ball' of Amara and Hemachandra corresponds to *akshikūṭam* found in Yājñavalkya Cf. Vishṇusahasranāma also. —*akshigata*- 'hated' of Am. and Hch. is quoted as from Mahābhārata by Monier-Williams.

akshoṭaḥ 'walnut' is found mentioned in Raghuvamśa; the variants of this word such as *akshoḍa*-(ka-), *ākshoṭa*-, *ākshoḍa*-, show its Middle Indo-Aryan characteristic, ultimately to be derived from probable non-Aryan source (?).

akhāta- m; n; 'natural pond', found only in Am. and Hch.; the adjective *ā-khāta*- 'not shortened or mutilated' occurs in the Atharva Veda.

agadaḥ 'medicine, drug' in Am. Hch. and Manu; cp. *a-gadā*- 'healthy' in Ṛig and Atharva Vedas. Manu 11.237 also shows *agadaḥ* 'health'. On the other hand *agadam-kāraḥ* 'physician' is formed according to Pāṇini 6.3.70, occurs also in Naishadhacharita, Śrīkaṇṭhacharita, Yaśastilaka and Daśakumāracharita.

aghnyā 'excellent cow' occurs in the Ṛig and Atharva Vedas, is also attested in the Uṇādisūtra.

aṅgadam 'bracelet worn on the upper arm' is recorded by Amara, Trik., Hch., Medinī, and is attested in the Rāmāyaṇa and Vikramorvaśya. It is also found in the Mahābhāṣya and the Yudhishṭhiravijaya.

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aṅgaṇam 'court-yard' (with v. 1. *aṅganam*) is found in Raghuvamśa, Kāvyaaprakāśa and the Rāmāyaṇa, besides lexicographical works, and has survived both in Middle and several modern Indo-Aryan languages. The -ṇ- may indicate a MI-A incorporation of -n- in OI-A.

aṅgāraḥ 'live coal' witnessed from R̥gvedic times, and in Manu, Hitopadeśa; of compounds with this word, only *aṅgāra-dhānikā*, °-*vallarī*, °-*vallī* and °-*śakaṭī* are recorded by Amara; most of the other words to be found in Sanskrit dictionaries are to be traced only to later lexicons.

Of the words for 'finger' only *aṅgulī* is recorded by Amara; the form *aṅguri-* or *aṅgurī* (recorded only by a commentator on Amara) is not listed, nor the Vedic *aṅguli-*, except in the compound *aṅguli-mudrā* for which the only *belege* in PW are from lexicographical literature, except for a stray reference from Śākuntala. Similarly *aṅgulīyakam* is found in this play, by the side of *aṅgulīya-* m.n., which is also recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa.

aṅgushṭhā- (Vedic) and *aṅgushṭha-* (classical) is attested at all periods of Indo-Aryan.

While the word *aṅghriḥ* 'foot' is not missing in Amara, the only compound recorded is *aṅghri-parṇikā*, with variants in °-*vallī* or °-*vallikā* in scholia on the passage.

achanḍī 'a tractable cow' is recorded only by Amara and Hemachandra.

achalaḥ 'mountain' is used in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata.

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achchhaḥ 'clear water', and *achchha-* 'clear, transparent': the second is seen in *Suśruta*, *Meghadūta* and *Amarasataka*.

achchha-bhallaḥ 'bear'; Amara records *bhallukaḥ*, *ṛikshaḥ*, *bhālūkaḥ* in addition to the preceding, and later lexicographers add *bhallaḥ* also; the first part being the MI-A equivalent of OI-A *ṛiksha-*, and the second <*bhadra-* : **bhadla-*¹; the form *bhālūkaḥ* <*bhallūkaḥ* also indicates a MI-A development. Mar. *āsva* is a descendant of this *achchha-bhallaḥ*.

ajiram 'court-yard' is found in *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Pañchatantra*; cp. *ajirā-* 'quick' and *ajirām* 'quickly' used in the Vedas.

In the sense of 'body, sense object' etc. there are no quotable examples in literature.

ajihmagah 'arrow' has no citations, but *ajimhaga-* as an adjective qualifying *bāṇa* is used in *Manu*.

ajjukā 'courtesan' as addressed in Sanskrit plays is a MI-A incorporation in Sanskrit; the word seems to have been used by *Aśvaghoṣa* (cf. *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, 44²*jjuke*) and in *Daśarūpa*.

aṭani 'notched end or extremity of a bow'; the form *aṭani-* occurs in *Naishadha*, but the former is seen in *Hitopadeśa*.

1. J. Przyluski considers this word, along with *malluḥ* as an Austro-Asiatic loanword in Indo-Aryan, with characteristic interchange of initial *m-/b-*, cf. *BSL* 90.196 and Turner, *Nepali Dictionary* s. v. *bhām*. But on an independent *m- : bh-* correspondence in Indo-Aryan see P. Tedesco; *Indic milatī in Language* (1943).

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aṭāṭyā 'roaming' from Pāṇini and the Vārttika-kāra; cf. Subhāshitāvalī; there are no other examples.

aṭṭaḥ 'loft, terrace', evidently a Dravidian loan, seen in Rāmāyaṇa.

ataṭaḥ 'precipice', used in Śākuntala.

attikā 'elder sister', clearly another Dravidian loan.

admarā- 'gluttonous' from Pāṇini.

adhamarṇaḥ 'debtor' found in Manu; the extended form *adhamarṇikaḥ* is found both in Manu and in Yājñavalkya; *adhamarṇatā* is found in Naishadha.

ānas n. 'cart' is found from R̥gvedic times, in Manu and Yājñ.

ānāmikā 'ring-finger' from Śat. Br. downwards.

ānīka- m. n. 'army', 'combat': in Mahābhārata and Hitopadeśa.

anukāmīna- 'one who acts as he pleases' from Pāṇini.

anutarshaṇam 'drinking vessel': no examples; *anutarshaḥ* is found at Śisupālavadhā, Jātakamālā, Śrīkaṇṭhacharita and Hara-vijaya.

anūkam 'family' or 'disposition' is found used in Suśruta.

anūpa- 'watery' from Pāṇini, but cf. *anūpāḥ* 'watery country' in Manu and 'pond' in the R̥gveda.

anekapaḥ 'elephant': no citations.

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anehas 'time' quoted in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita*.

anokahaḥ 'tree' found in *Śākuntala* and *Raghuvaṃśa*.

antarīpam 'island' after Pāṇini; cf. *Naishadha* also; no further citations.

antardhīḥ 'concealment' in *Atharvaveda*, *Shāḍvīmśa Br.* and Pāṇini.

antarvatnī 'pregnant' in *RV*, *AV*, Pāṇini, *Mahābhārata*, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

antikā 'fire-place: no belege, other than *Somadeva*.

andukaḥ 'elephant-fetter': cf. *andū*, *andūka-*, all from lexicographical works; *Nachträge* (Schmidt) gives *Dharmaś.* 17.97 as a belege.

andhīḥ 'well' in *Uṇādi*, *Trik.* and *Hch.* and *Rājat.*

anvaksha- 'following'; but as adverb *anvaksham* used in *Rām.* and *Yājñ.*

apa-shṭhu- 'contrary, opposite, perverse', from *Uṇādi*.

apāchī 'south' only in lexicons.

apūpāḥ 'cake' from *Ṛigvedic* times.

abhīkaḥ 'lover' and as adj. 'lustful, libidinous' in *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Naishadha*, *Śīśu*.

abhidhyā 'wish, longing' only in lexicons, the commoner form being *abhidhyānam*; cf. however, *Somadeva* I. 55.2.

abhīshuḥ 'rein, bridle' in *Mbh.*, *Śisupālavadha*, etc.; wrong orthography for *abhīśuḥ* with *ś* replaced by *sh*, the main Vedic form.

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abhriḥ f. 'shovel, spade, spatula', mostly Vedic;
Manu uses the word.

abhriya- 'belonging to clouds' and m. n. 'thunder-
cloud', mostly Vedic.

abhreshaḥ 'propriety' from Pāṇini.

āmatram 'large drinking vessel' purely Vedic.

It will be clear from the foregoing analysis that Sanskrit lexicography has a long way to go before any semblance of perfection is reached. The number of words found in *Amarakoṣa* lacking quotable instances from Sanskrit literature is an indication of the need for a historical dictionary of Sanskrit on modern principles. It is only when we are in possession of that Thesaurus that we can properly estimate Amara's contribution to Sanskrit lexicography. From the short sample given above, based only on the extant modern dictionaries, it will appear that Amara had a great tradition before him, both literary and vernacular. If the entire vocabulary contained in his lexicon is treated in a similar way, as also the commentarial literature quoting him on Sanskrit masterpieces, we shall be in a better position to approach the problem of his date and provenance.

SIDDHASENA DIVAKARA AND VIKRAMADITYA

By

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE, Ujjain

Jaina literature often and again refers to Vikramāditya, the Śākāri and Samvatsara-pravartaka, as to a personality of undoubted historicity. Brave in battle, efficient as a ruler, interested and proficient in arts and learning, lavishly generous, devoted to the exponents of religion, and keen on visiting and endowing places of worship, Vikramāditya is to the Jains the model of a historical Śrāvaka king, ranging with Śreṇika, Samprati and Kumārapāla.

The pertinent evidence, it is true, might be pronounced to be of limited value so far as derived from epic poetry, legend, and even ecclesiastical history,—literature classed as “aupadeśika” and therefore open to the suspicion of treating the historical truth of its subject-matter as less important than its edifying or proselytizing qualities.

As a matter of fact, however, such evidence is also found in those dry chronological and genealogical lists which enumerate pontiffs along with contemporaneous rulers, representative luminaries of the respective periods (“yugapradhāna”), and other items characteristic

of the time. These Gurvāvalis, Paṭṭāvalis, etc., likewise reiterate that Vikramāditya, whose Saṃvat started 470 years¹ after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa and 135 years prior to the year of commencement of the Śālivāhana Saṃvat, was a historical Jaina king.

Most of those works connect Vikramāditya's name with that of the Jaina logician and lyric poet Siddhasena Divākara as that of his spiritual teacher. Since Siddhasena Divākara is a well-known figure in Jaina literature and some of his works are available, it follows that his historical whereabouts should form a convenient starting point in attempting to lay hold of Vikramāditya's elusive personality and to fix his place in history.

1. VIKRAMĀDITYA AND SIDDHASENA IN NON-JAINA LITERATURE

Such an attempt seems all the more hopeful, since non-Jaina literature obviously corroborates the mutual contemporaneousness of these two personalities in the following often quoted passage of the 22nd Prakaraṇa of the *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*²:

वर्षे श्रुतिस्मृतिविचारविवेकस्य श्रीभारते खड्गसंमितदेशपीठे ।
मत्तोऽधुना कृतिरियं सति मालवेन्द्रे श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपराजवरे समासीत् ॥७॥
शङ्कः सुवाग्वरचिर्मणिर्गिरङ्गुदत्तो जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरो घटखर्पराख्यः ।
अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वा यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥८॥
सत्यो बराहमिहिरः श्रुतसेननामा श्रीबादरायणमणित्यकुमारसिंहाः ।
श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपसंसदि सन्ति चैते श्रीकालतन्त्रकवयस्त्वपरे मदाद्याः ॥९॥
धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटखर्पकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो बराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नैव विक्रमस्य ॥१०॥

The question whether or not the word "kshapaṇaka" used in Stanza 10 to specify one of Śākāri

1. In some texts, somewhat deviating figures are found : vide infra.

2. महाकविश्रीकालिदासविरचितं ज्योतिर्विदाभरणम् भावरत्नविरचितमुख-
बोधिकासमेतम्—Published by Nārāyaṇaśarma (Bombay, 1908).

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Vikramāditya's "Nine Gems" refers to Siddhasena Divākara, has often been discussed,¹ but not definitely settled as yet. There can be no doubt that in early Jaina literature like the *Nandisūtra* and the *Viśeshāvaśyaka* this word, or rather its Prakrit equivalent "khavaṇaya",² means "Jaina ascetic" in general, while in later Jaina works like the *Guruparvavakramavarṇanam* by Guṇaratna-sūri,³ the *Tapāgachchhapattāvalīśūtra* by Dharmasāgara-gaṇi⁴ (both Śvetāmbara works) and the *Pravachanaparīkshā* by Yogīndradeva⁵ (a Digambara work), it has assumed the special meaning of "Digambara ascetic" in contradistinction to "Śvetāmbara ascetic". This meaning is confirmed by the lexicographers Hemachandra (Śvetāmbara) and Śrīdharasena (Digambara),⁶ and by the non-Jinistic *Prabodhachandrodaya*.⁷ In which sense it is used in the *Avadānakalpalatā*,⁸ the *Mudrārākshasa*,⁹ the *Pañchatantra*¹⁰, and other works, seems as uncertain as in the above-quoted stanza. Since, however, Siddhasena is claimed by Digambaras as well as Śvetāmbaras as belonging to their respective sect¹¹

1. Vide M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1933), P. 477, Note; Krishnamachariar : *A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937), Pp. 87 ff and 110 ff.; Jugal Kishor Mukhtar: स्वामी समन्तभद्र (Bombay, 1925), Pp. 133ff.

2. Vide Pt. Hargovind Das T. Sheth : *Pāṇi-Sadda-Mahāvṇavo* (Calcutta, 1928), s. v. "khavaṇaya".

3. *Pattāvalīsamuchchaya*, ed. by Muni Darśanavijaya, I, 1933, P. 26, St. 14.

4. I. I. P. 50, St. 9, Vṛitti.

5. Vide J. Mukhtar, I. I. P. 140.

6. Vide J. Mukhtar, I. I. P. 141.

7. Nirṇayasāgara Press Edition, 1924, P. 109.

8. Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana: *A History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), P. 173.

9. Fifth Tantra, Story of the "Golden Man".

10. Edition of Telang, Pp. 210 ff. and 219 ff. of the text; vide also P. 17 of the Introduction.

11. Details vide infra.

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and since—for the matter of that—he probably flourished at a time when the earlier meaning may still have been in force, there is certainly nothing in the way of applying the expression to him.

In the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of Vardhamāna, it is true, the word “Kshapaṇaka” or “Mahākshapaṇaka” seems to be used as the proper name of a grammarian, author of an *Anekārthakośa* or *Anekārthadhvanīmañjarī*, and of an *Ekārthakośa*.¹

Accordingly, the possibility might be considered whether the author of the *Jyotirvidābharāṇa*, too, has not used the word as a proper noun rather than a generic one, applied to an author who represented that station in life. A glance on the context, however, shows that six out of the “Nine Gems” (*viz.*, Amarasiṃha, Śaṅku, Ghaṭakharpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi) are mentioned twice, *viz.*, once as “Gems” and another time as “Kavis” or “Kālatantra-kavis” respectively. It is therefore likely that the “Kshapaṇaka” in the group of “Gems” is nothing but a second reference, under his generic designation, to Śrutasena who figures in the preceding stanza as a “Kālatantra-kavi”. That “Śrutasena,” according to prosodic and grammatical rules, is a regular substitute for “Siddhasena”, has been pointed out by the commentator of the *Jyotirvidābharāṇa Bhāvaratna*.² It is further corroborated by the fact that, though none of Siddhasena Divākara’s astronomical works survives, yet an astronomer author Siddhasena is testified by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihajjāta*.³

The mentioning of this “Śrutasena” alone would therefore be sufficient evidence to show that once, what-

1. Vide Aufrecht’s *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s. v. “Kshapaṇaka”.

2. Vide Commentary to Stanza 9, l. 1.

3. Vide Aufrecht, l. l., s. v. “Siddhasena”.

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ever may be the actual time of composition of the *Jyotiṛ-vidābharaṇa*, a non-Jinistic tradition did exist which connected Siddhasena and Vikramāditya as contemporaries. The commentator further quotes four panegyrical stanzas which Siddhasena Divākara is related to have composed in honour of Vikramāditya.

2. SIDDHASENA AND VIKRAMADITYA IN JAINA LITERATURE

The episode of the four Ślokas referred to by Bhāvaratna is one of the Vikramāditya-Siddhasena stories found in the Jaina Prabandhas and Kathānakas¹. It relates how Siddhasena, seeking an interview with King Vikramāditya and stopped at the palace gate by the doorkeeper, sent in to the king a poetic Sanskrit message stating that, with four Ślokas in his hand, a mendicant friar was waiting outside, wondering whether he should come or go. Allowed entrance by a similar Sanskrit stanza of the king, Siddhasena entered, recited his four Ślokas, and thus won the favour of the king.

Another well-known episode is that of the Jina statue which Siddhasena caused to appear out of a Śiva liṅga in the presence of the king by the recitation of some of his renowned hymns, and of the subsequent restitution to the Jainas of the temple concerned, and the endowment of the latter with the substantial grant

1. E.g., Prabhācandrācārya's *Prabhāvakacharita*, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Series No. 13, 1940), P. 58, St. 121 ff.; Merutuṅgācārya's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (ibidem No. 1), P. 7, Note (Version "D"); Rājatekharasūri's *Prabandhakōśa* (ibidem No. 6), P. 20, Para 26; Saṅghatīlaka-sūri's *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛtti* (Devachandra Lālabhai Pustakoddhāra No. 35), Pp. 139 ff.; Śubhāṣīlagāṇi's *Vikramacharitra* (ed. Paṇḍita Bhagavāndāsa, Saṃvat 1996), P. 63, St. 135 ff.; Vijayalakshmisūri's *Upadeśopaprāsāda* (Rājanagara, 1938), Pp. 61ff. Bhāvaratna, too, was a Śvetāmbara Jaina Śādhu.

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of several hundreds of villages¹. With this episode I have dealt in my article “जैन साहित्य और महाकाल मन्दिर”.²

A third story tells how Vikrama, hearing people in the street refer to Siddhasena as “Sarvajña-putra” and desirous of testing the appropriateness of this epithet, greeted the ascetic by mental obeisance only, in response to which the latter, with loud voice and lifted-up hand, extended his “Dharmalābha”, the formula with which Śvetāmbara Sādhus are still accustomed to greet laymen³.

Significant is the reference to a Jaina temple at Omkāranagara (or Omkārapura resp.),⁴ for the erection of which Siddhasena is related to have obtained King Vikramāditya's permission and which is described as

1. *Prabhāvakacharita*, I. I. P. 59, St. 130 ff; *Prabandhachiniāmāṇi*, Version “D”, I. I. P. 7, Note; *Prabandhakośa*, I. I. P. 18, Para 26; Jīnaprabhasūri: *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (Singhi Jaina Series No. 10), P. 88f.; *Prabandhachiniāmāṇi-saṁbaddha Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha* (Singhi Jaina Series No. 2), P. 10, Para 15; Tapāchārya: *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra-tīkā* (vide R. B. Hiralal: *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in the C. P. and Berar*, Nagpur, 1926, Pp. XII ff); *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛttī*, I. I. Pp. 139 ff; Śubhaśīla: *Vikramacharitra*, I. I. P. 95, St. 1 ff; *Upadeśaprāsāda*, I. I. Pp. 60 ff.
2. In the Vikrama Two Millennium Commemoration Volume **विक्रमस्मृतिग्रंथ** in Hindi under publication by the Gwalior Government.
3. *Prabhāvakacharita*, I. I. P. 55, St. 61; *Prabandhachiniāmāṇi*, I. I. P. 7; *Prabandhakośa*, I. I. P. 16, Para 24; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, I. I. P. 89; *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛttī*, I. I. Pp. 139 ff; *Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha*, I. I. P. 117, Para 263; Śubhaśīla: *Vikramacharitra*, I. I. P. 63, St. 119 ff; *Upadeśaprāsāda*, I. I. Pp. 59 ff; Bhadrēśvara: *Kathāvalī*, as quoted by L. Gandhi in the Introduction to his edition of *Apabhraṁśaśāhavyatrayī* (G. O. S. No. 37), P. 74, Note 1.
4. Probably identical with “Omkāranātha”, which Nundo Lal De in *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (Calcutta Oriental Series, 1927), P. 142, states to be the same as ancient Māhishmati or Māndhātā, situated on an island in the Narmadā, 32 miles n. w. of Khandwa, and representing the oldest of the Śiva temples and one of the great līngas of Mahādeva.

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having surpassed in height and splendour the famous temple of Śiva situated there¹.

In some of the Prabandhas, Siddhasena is said to have predicted on Vikramāditya's question—in true Purāṇa style—that the next Śrāvaka king worthy to be compared with him would be Kumārapāla, who would arise 1199 years after him². According to the *Purātana Prabandha-saṃgraha*, the pertinent stanza was preserved in the “Kuṇḍageśvara-” or “Kuṇḍigeśvara-Temple”, or, according to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, in the “Kudaṇ-geśvara-Temple” in Malwa³.

Of historical interest is also the information, found in the *Prabhāvākacharita* exclusively⁴, that King Vikramāditya, advised by Siddhasena Divākara, caused the ancient Jaina place of pilgrimage Broach (“Bhṛigu-pura”) to be repaired.

Somewhat separate from the Prabandhas and Ka-thānakas stands the reference to Vikrama and his Guru which Ratnaśekharasūri gives in his *Vidhikaumudī* (or *Śrāddhavidhi-Vṛitti*) and which has obviously been literally copied by the author of the *Aṣṭāhnikavyākhyāna*⁵. Here Vikramāditya, the royal disciple of

1. *Prabandhakōśa*, I.1. P. 19, Para 27; *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, I.1. Pp. 139 ff. (the name is here mis-spelt as “*Chumkārapura*”); Śubhaśīla: *Vikramacharitra*, I.1. P. 63, St. 131 ff.; *Upadeśapṛasāda*, I.1. P. 61; without referring to the above episode, Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, I.1. P. 86, mentions, in other connection, a temple of the “Sahasraphaṇḍin Pārśvanātha”, located on the “Omākara-parvata”; the *Upadeśapṛasāda* too refers to the above temple as to a Pārśvanātha temple.

2. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, I.1. Pp. 8 and 78; *Prabandhakōśa*, I.1. P. 17, Para 24; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, I.1. P. 89; *Purātana Prabandha-saṃgraha*, I.1. P. 123, 38.

3. Vide my above referred-to article for details.

4. I.1. P. 43, St. 77.

5. *Vidhikaumudī* (Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Saṃ. 1974, Pp. 165 ff.; *Aṣṭāhnikavyākhyāna* (Ibid., Saṃ. 1860), P. 7.

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Siddhasena, is referred to as the example of a distinguished visitor to places of pilgrimage, who went to Śatruñjaya with a huge procession and with all pomp and formality, accompanied by 5000 Jaināchāryas including Siddhasena Divākara, 14 kings adorned with their royal diadems, 70 lakhs of Śrāvaka families, 1 crore 10 lakh and 9,000 cars, 18 lakhs of horses, 7,600 elephants, besides camels, bullocks, etc., untold.

In his *Laghu Śatruñjayakalpa*, Dharmaghoshasūri¹ likewise mentions Vikrama in connection with this sacred place of the Jainas, which is stated to have been repaired by him.

According to Dhaneśvarasūri's *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya*², Mahāvīra predicts to Indra that 466 years and 45 days after his Nirvāṇa King Vikrama would free the earth from debt and subsequently replace the Vira-Saṃvat by his own Saṃvatsara.

Based mostly on the above-mentioned and similar sources, which have not yet been made available in print³, are a number of brief references to Vikrama and Siddhasena, his Guru, sometimes only alluding to one or another of the above-related episodes, in later Jaina literature, such as Achalakīrti's *Vishāpahārastotra*-

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1. *Śrī Śatruñjaya-Mahātīrthādi-Yātrā-Vichāra* (Bhavnagar, Saṃ. 1985), Pp. 193 ff.
 2. Vide Gujarati translation, published by the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bombay, Saṃ. 1956, P. 488. Though this work claims to have been composed in Saṃ. 477 (I.I. P. 498), the *vaticinatio posteventum* re King Kumārapāla contained therein illustrates its real age clearly enough.
 3. Some further literature is given in M. D. Desai's *Short History of Jaina Literature* (Bombay, 1933), Paras 150 ff., 683, 899, and Note 524; vide also *Sammatīkārka* edited by Pt. S. Sanghavi and Pt. B. Doshi (Shri Jain Shvetambar Education Board, Bombay, 1939), Introduction.

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bhāshā,¹ Banārasīdāsa's *Kalyāṇamandirastotra-bhāshā*,² Brindāvana's *Maṅgalāshṭaka*,³ and *Gurvāvalīstotra*.⁴

Generally not much older than all the above works, none of which is, so far as can be ascertained, composed previous to A. D. 1200⁵, are the references contained in the *Paṭṭāvalī*s and kindred works mentioned above, such as Dharmaghoshasūri's *Dusamākāla-Samaṇasaṃgha-Thayaṃ*, or rather its *Avachūri*,⁶ Ravivardhanagaṇi's *Paṭṭāvalīsāroddhāra*,⁷ an anonymous *Guru-Paṭṭāvalī*,⁸ *Kharataragachchha-Sūri-Paramparā-Prasasti*,⁹ *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī* Nos. 1 and 2¹⁰, the anonymous *Ratnasañchaya-Prakaraṇam*,¹¹ and Pradyumnasūri's *Vichārasāra-Prakaraṇa*.¹²

Still, works of this type are assumed to contain, by way of quotations, passages of very high antiquity. As a matter of fact, the pertinent passages of the last-named two works betray, by their very wordings, origin

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1. *Jainārṇava*, No. 9, P. 65.
 2. l. l. No. 8, P. 60.
 3. *Bṛīhajjinavāṇīsaṃgraha* No. 57, P. 158, St. 7.
 4. l. l. P. 156, St. 23.
 5. *Prabhāvakacharita* 1278 A. D., *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* 1305 A. D., *Vividhatīrthakalpa* 1333 A. D., *Prabandhakōśa* 1451 A. D., *Samyaktvasaptatikā-uritti* 1366 A. D., Śubhaśīla's *Vikramacharitra* 1443 A. D., *Vidhikaumudī* 1450 A. D., Dharmaghoshasūri's death 1301 A. D., *Upadeśaprasāda* 1787 A. D.
 6. *Paṭṭāvalīsamuchchaya*, edited by Muni Darśanavijaya, Viramgam, 1933 A. D., P. 17; re its time of composition, vide last Note.
 7. l. l. P. 150; composed 1683 A. D.
 8. l. l. P. 166.
 9. *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-Saṃgraha*, compiled by Śrī Jinavijaya (Calcutta, 1932), Pp. 2 ff., composed 1528 A. D.
 10. l. l. Pp. 9 and 18.
 11. Quoted by Kalyāṇavijaya in *Vīranirvāṇa aur Jaina-kālagāṇanā* (*Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, Vols. 10-11), P. 65, Note.
 12. The pertinent passage is quoted from Peterson's *Third Report* by Satis Chandra Vidyābhusanā in his *History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), P. 173. Pradyumnasūri flourished in the first half of the 13th century.

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from a common old source, and also the extent to which the original has been contorted. Both do not mention any relationship between Vikrama and Siddhasena, it is true, but they clearly state them to have belonged to approximately the same age.

(1) *Ratnasañchaya-Prakarana* :

चउसयसत्तरि वरिसे वीराओ विक्कमो जाओ ॥५६॥

पंचेव य वरिससए सिद्धसेणो दिवायरो जाओ ।

सत्तसय बीस अहिए कालिगगुरु सक्कसंयुणिओ ॥५७॥

“470 years after Vira, Vikrama flourished. 500 years after Vira, Siddhasena Divākara flourished. 720 years after Vira, Guru Kālaka who was praised by Indra.”

(2) *Vichārasāra-Prakarana* :

.....

पंचेव य वरिससए सिद्धसेणदिवायरो य जयपयडो ।

छच्चसए बीसहिए सक्कथुऊ अज्जरक्खिपहू ॥२६॥

“500 years afterwards, Siddhasena Divākara of well-known glory, and 620 years afterwards, the Lord Aryarakshita, praised by Indra.”¹

Works of this last category claim by their very character to be treated as historical sources. Not only this, but even works of the former type, *i. e.*, the Prabandhas, etc., have been tapped for historical data by Bühler in his Biography of Hemachandra². Accordingly, it might be expected that the above rich literature in its totality should allow Siddhasena Divākara's historical whereabouts to be conveniently settled.

1. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana seems to be unaware that the years are counted from Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, as he quotes this passage in support of his theory that Siddhasena and the other “Gems” were contemporary with Yaśोधरman !

2. Professor G. Bühler's *The Life of Hemachandra*, translated by M. Patel (Singhi Jaina Series, No. 11).

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3. HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE VIKRAMĀDITYA-SIDDHASENA LITERATURE

Yet the task of reconstructing history from the Vikramāditya-Siddhasena literature mentioned above is beset with difficulties, as a number of the data which it supplies contradict each other, while others are ruled out as anachronisms or as otherwise improbable. Where, *e. g.*, did Siddhasena come from? Was he, as most of the Prabandhas would make posterity believe, the son of Devarshi, Vikramāditya's Purohita of Ujjain of Kātyāyana-Gotra, and of his wife Devaśrī¹, or was he the "Karnāṭabhaṭṭa-Divākara", who had immigrated from the Dakṣiṇāpatha, as other works state²? Was, accordingly, Karnāṭabhaṭṭa-Divākara his original name, which later, at his initiation, was changed to "Siddhasena Divākara", or was it Siddhasena, changed to "Kumudachandra" at his initiation and again to "Siddhasena Divākara" at his consecration as an Āchārya, or was "Siddhasena Divākara" an honorary title conferred on him by King Devapāla of Karmārapura³?

Was his sister's name Siddhaśrī, Siddhasarasvatī, or Bālasarasvatī, as those works state⁴, contradicting one another?

Was it the Mahākāla Temple where he met Vikramāditya and where his recitation worked the alleged miracle of the Jina statue, or was it the temple

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1. *Prabhāvakacharita*, *Prabandhakośa*, Tapāchārya's *Kalyāṇamandira-stotra-ṭīkā*, *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛtti*, *Upadeśapṛāśāda*, I 1; some versions have the Prakrit equivalents of the above names.
 2. *Vividhaviṛihakalpa*; the particular version of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* to which Pt. Sanghavi and Pt. Doshi refer in their Introduction to *Sanmatitarāṅga*, I 1.
 3. The latter according to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.
 4. The first name is given in the *Prabhāvakacharita*, the second in the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Upadeśapṛāśāda*, and the third in the *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛtti*.

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of Kudaṅgeśvara? Were this statue, the temple where it appeared and the place of pilgrimage into which the latter developed after its restitution to the Jainas sacred to Pārśvanātha or to Ādinātha¹?

Was he a disciple of Vṛiddhavādin whose original name was Mukunda², or of Dharmāchārya³?

Anyhow, the date of Vṛiddhavādin, Dharmāchārya and Siddhasena himself is unanimously declared to be in the vicinity of the starting year of the Vikrama Saṃvat, and all three are explicitly stated to have been contemporary with Kālakāchārya, the famous Śakaguru⁴. But simultaneously Siddhasena is also stated to have been a descendant of Pādaliptasūri, author of the much praised Prakrit novel *Taraṅgavatī* and founder of Pālītāna, the same Pādalipta who is mentioned as coeval with Nāgārjuna (the latter flourishing in the time of Kanishka), with Nāgahastin (who, according to the *Nandisūtra*, was the 22nd Yugapradhāna and whose predecessor Āryarakshita, the 21st, is stated to have lived 620 after Vīra, as has been shown above), and with Ārya Khapuṭa (known to have died in Vikrama Saṃvat 484)⁵!

1. Vide my article referred to above, where these problems have been dealt with in detail.
2. So all the Prabandhas, the *Vividhaīrihikalpa*, Dharmasāgaragaṇi's *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-sūtra*, the *Kharataragachchha-Sūri-Paramparā-Praśasti*, the *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra-ṭīkā*, l. 1.
3. So Dharmaghoshasūri's *Dusamāhāla-samapaśaṅga-īhayaṃ*, l. 1.
4. Thus all the Prabandhas and Kathānakas as well as the Paṭṭāvalis referred to. The only point of difference, viz., the fact that the contemporaneous pontiff, Ārya Simhagiri, is in some sources declared to have been the 13th, in others the 12th, and in a third group the 15th after Mahāvīra, is unessential here.
5. Re Pādalipta and Nāgārjuna vide K. P. Jayaswal: *The Murunda Dynasty and the Date of Pādalipta in Malaviya Commemoration Volume*. Re Nāgahastin vide Muni Kalyāṇaviyaya, l. Pp 125 ff., he is supposed to have died 676 years after Mahāvīra. Re Ārya Khapuṭa vide *Prabhāvakacharita*, P. 43, and Muni Kalyāṇaviyaya, l. l. P. 105, Note.

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The *Prabhāvakacharita* moreover relates that this same Pādalipta lived at the court of King Kṛishṇa of Mānakhetapura¹, i. e., Malkhed, the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas, though the latter was founded, according to present assumptions², by King Amoghavarsha (815-877 A. D.), or though in any case the earliest Kṛishṇa-rāja who could have ruled there, even if Malkhed is assumed to have existed before, would be Kṛishṇa I who died between 772 and 775 A. D.³ !

What to say, moreover, re Siddhasena's stay at Chitrakūṭa, related in several sources⁴, in view of the fact that this place was founded as late as Samv. 609⁵ ?

And what about his being coeval with Kālidāsa, Vararuchi, Bhartṛihari, as told in some of the Prabandhas⁶, in agreement with the *Jyotirvidābharana* which adds Varāhamihira, Amarasiṃha and other literary personalities now generally assumed to have flourished centuries after the beginning of the Vikrama era ?

Besides, the bewildered reader might also ask why there is no unanimity re the important question of the origin of the Vikrama Samvat itself, which, according to some texts, was started in commemoration of Vikrama's freeing the earth from debt⁷, according to

1. I.I. Pp. 36 and 39.

2. Vide Altekar: *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times* (Poona, 1934), P. 46 f.

3. Vide Altekar, I.I., P. 45.

4. *Prabhāvakacharita*, *Prabandhakosha*, *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, *Upadeśa-prāsāda*.

5. Vide *Pañcavalīsamuchchaya*, I.I. P. 202.

6. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, *Purāṇa Prabandha-saṃgraha*.

7. *Prabhāvakacharita*, I.I. P. 25, St. 90 f. and P. 49, St. 71 f.; *Vividhātitha-kalpa*, I.I. Pp. 88 and 39; *Śaivajayamāhātmya* I.I.

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others in remembrance of his death¹, according to a third group to immortalize his accession to the throne², and according to one more opinion from the date of his birth³, while nowhere at all in Jaina literature it is found connected with a victory over the Śakas directly.

Even regarding the very starting point of the Vikrama Samvat, counted in years of the Vīra era, there is no agreement, though the discrepancies are inconsiderable⁴.

A certain amount of anachronisms and other inconsistencies might certainly be conceded to the literature referred to, without denying that it may contain some kernel of historical truth. The task, however, to peel off all secondary matter, and neatly to reveal this kernel, seems hopeless in view of the inadequacy of the expedients available so far.

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1. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, 1.1 P 10, *Himavanta-Therāvālī* quoted by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 1.1. Pp. 117 ff ; a number of references in old Digambara texts are given in the Introduction to *Shatkhhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, by H. Jaina (Amraoti, 1939), P. (34), Note 2.
 2. Vide the Gāthās quoted by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 1.1. P. 177.
 3. This opinion I have seen represented so far by a single passage only, which Pandit Hiralal, Siddhānta-Śāstri, Ujjain, found in a MS of the *Śrī-Vasunandī-Śrāvakāchāra* of the Digambara Library of Indore (Fol.94) and which I herewith render with the Śāstriji's permission :

सत्तरि चउसदजुत्तो जिणकाले विक्कमो ह्वेइ जम्मो ।

अट्ठ वरिस बाललीला सोलस वासे भमिए देसे ॥

रस पण वासे रज्जं कुणंति मिच्छोपदेशसंजुत्तो ।

चालीस वरिस जिणवरधम्मं पालीय सुरपयं लहियं ॥

"After 470 years of the Jina-era, Vikrama's birth took place, 8 years lasted his childhood, 16 years he roamed about in the country, 56 years he ruled as an unbeliever, 40 years he lived as a follower of the noble Jaina religion, and then went to Heaven." Accordingly, Vikrama would have reached an age of 120 years !

4. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 1.1., and *Shatkhhaṇḍāgama*, Introduction, 1.1.

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4. OTHER EXPEDIENTS FOR A DEFINITION OF SIDHASENA'S TIME

These expedients mostly consist in passages of literary works containing either citations from Siddhasena's works, or references to them or to the author as such. Much valuable material of this type has been collected and valued by Pt. S. Sanghavi and Pt. B. Doshi in their Introduction to the *Sanmatitarka*¹, as well as by Pt. N. Premi² and others³. Still on studying it, one cannot help the impression that even in its totality it is but a feeble structure on which to rest the full weight of Siddhasena's chronology, in view of the fact that the time of most of the earlier authors who mention the logician-poet or his works is itself uncertain as yet.

Leaving aside as irrelevant for the problem under consideration all references posterior to 850 A. D., the following would be the material available.

(1) Jinasena ("Bhagavajjinasena"), *Ādipurāṇa* (composed approximately 840 A. D.)⁴, where the "Poet Siddhasena" is extolled as a "knife-blade (to cut down) false notions" and "a lion (to tear to pieces) the herds of elephants consisting in disputants, his mane being composed of the stand-points of Jaina Logic (*naya*)".

(2) Virasena, *Dhavalā* (*Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama-ṭīkā*, composed 826 A. D.), where seven stanzas of Siddhasena's *Sanmatitarka* are quoted, the work itself being referred to as "*Sammaīsutta*"⁵.

1. Vide supra.

2. *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1942.

3. M. D. Desai, l.l.

4. Premi, l.l. Pp. 421, 512 and 536. This Jinasena was a disciple of the Virasena mentioned below under No. 2.

5. The *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (Amraoti, 1939), Pp. 12 ff., 80 and 91, as well as P. (53) of the learned Introduction by H. Jain.

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(3) Jinasena, *Harivamśa-Purāṇa* (composed 783 A. D.), where Siddhasena's verses in general ("sūktayaḥ") are mentioned¹.

(4) Haribhadrāsūri, *Pañchavastuka* (composed between 650 and 777 A. D.)², Stanzas 1047-1048, where Siddhasena is referred to as "Āchārya Siddhasena, the Omniscient one in the lore of the Scriptures (Śrutakevalin), whose fame is established in his *Sanmatitarka* and whose name "Divākara" is based on the fact that he resembles the sun (*divākara*) with regard to this night of the Duḥshamā period"³.

In his *Anekārthajayapatākā*, this same Haribhadrāsūri speaks of a Vṛtti to *Sanmatitarka* composed by Mallavādin⁴.

(5) Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, *Viśeṣa-Chūrṇi* to the *Niśītha-Sūtra* (composed in 676 A. D.) with three separate references as under⁵:

- (a) mentioning the *Sanmatitarka* ("Sammati") as a "work fit to enrich faith and knowledge";
- (b) speaking of the same ("Sammadi") as of a "work fit to enrich religious faith";
- (c) saying that Siddhasenāchārya, by miraculous powers which he had acquired from studying the *Yoni-prābhṛitaka* and other works, had produced artificial horses.

1. Premi, I. I. Pp. 420 ff. and 536. This Jinasena was a disciple of Kirtisena and different from the Jinasena of Item No. 1.

2. Vide Haribhadrāsūri, *Anekārthajayapatākā*, ed. by H. R. Kapadia (G. O. S. No. 88), Introduction, P. XXVI f.; *Śrī-Pañchavastuka-Granthah* (Devachandra-Lālabhāi-Jainapustakodhāra No. 69, 1927), P. 156; *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction Pp. 1 ff.

3. I. e., the present 5th sub-period of the running Avasarpinī or world period of Degeneration which Jaina dogmatic assumes.

4. Vide N. 2 above; re Mallavādin vide infra, Item 8; *Sanmatitarka*, I. I. P. 10.

5. *Sanmatitarka*, P. 3, Note 2.

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In the *Daśa-Chūṛṇi*, ascribed to the same Jinadāsa, a passage refers to Siddhasenāchārya's method of interpreting one and the same Sūtra in various ways¹.

(6) Jinabhadraṇi, *Viśeṣhāvaśyaka-Bhāṣhya* (composed in 611 A. D.), discussing the main doctrines of Siddhasena².

(7) Śivakoṭi, *Ratnamālā* (of doubtful date), mentioning as previous to Samantabhadra³ a "Bhaṭṭāraka Siddhasena" among the sages whose blessings are invoked and thus corroborating the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis in that point⁴.

(8) Mallavādin, Commentary on the *Sanmatitarka* testified by Haribhadrāsūri (vide supra, Item No. 4). The work itself is not preserved. From the fact that Mallavādin also wrote annotations to Dharmottara's Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*, he is assumed to belong to the 5th century of the Vikrama era⁵.

1. *Sanmatitarka*, P. 3 f

2 This important item is quoted from a letter of Pt. S Sanghavi dated 21st February 1944: it is hoped that the details will soon be made generally known. Vide also the now antiquated reference in *Sanmatitarka*, Pp. 16 ff.

3. According to Pt. J. Mukhtar, *Svāmī Samantabhadra* (Jaina Grantha Ratnākara Kāryālaya, Bombay, 1925), P. 196, Samantabhadra would have flourished during the first five centuries of the Vikrama era.

4. Re Śivakoṭi vide *Bhagavati Ārādhanā* ed. by A. N. Upadhye (Singhi Jain Series No. 17), Bombay, 1943, Introduction P 53, as well as N. Premi, l. l. P. 27 f.: both scholars doubt the identity of this Śivakoṭi with the author of the *Bhagavati Ārādhanā*, so that his date would remain uncertain.

The following Paṭṭāvalis mention Samantabhadra as later than Siddhasena: Dharmasāgaragaṇi, *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvali-sūtra*, l. l. P. 47, Ravivardhanagaṇi, *Paṭṭāvalisāroddhāra*, l. l. P. 151; Anonymous *Paṭṭāvali*, l. l. P. 167; *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvali* No. 2, l. l. P. 19; etc.

5. M. D. Desai, l. l. Pp. 134 ff.; *Sanmatitarka*, l. l. P. 10.

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(9) The earliest reference re Siddhasena so far traced is that in Pūjyapāda's (Devanandin's) *Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa* (5; 1; 7)) of approximately 450 A. D. (more accurately: the beginning of the 6th Vikrama century)¹. This reference consists merely of the Sūtra "*vetteḥ Siddhasenasya*", preceded and followed by similar Sūtras which refer to Bhūtabali, Prabhāchandra, Samantabhadra, and other ancient Jaina authors. In view of the undeniable chronological as well as spiritual proximity of the latter to Siddhasena, it can safely be assumed that the passage refers to him, though, as Pt. Mukhtar and Pt. Premi point out, its exact interpretation would presuppose researches into the linguistic peculiarities of Siddhasena's works².

(10) To these Jaina references may be added the above referred to passage of Varāhamihira's *Bṛīhajjātaka*, where an astronomer author Siddhasena is mentioned. Varāhamihira was probably alive in Śaka Samvat 427= A. D. 505, if not a century prior³.

Though Haribhadrasūri's and Jinadāsagaṇi's way of referring to Siddhasena indicates that the latter was in their eyes a person of remote age⁴, still the above literature does not allow of further conclusions re Siddhasena's time beyond the fixation of his *terminus ante quem* for about 450 A. D.

1. Premi, I. I. P. 117; *Sanmatarka*, I I P 10 f., J. Mukhtar, I. I Pp 250 ff.

2. Recently, H. D. Velankar, *Jīnaratnaśoḥa*, Poona 1944, P 146, has also expressed the opinion that the names referred to are probably those of "well-known Jaina authors who used the particular grammatical forms, and not necessarily of old grammarians".

3. S. K. Dikshit, *Chandragupta II Śāhasāṅka*, alias *Vikramāditya*, and *Nine Jewels* (*Indian Culture*, VI, Pp 191 ff. and 377 ff.), interprets the pertinent chronogram of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* as Śaka 327=405 A.D., which has been refuted by K. M. K. Sarma in his article *The Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa and the Nine Jewels* (*The Poona Orientalist*, IV, Pp. 205 ff.).

4. Vide *Sanmatarka*, Introduction Pp. 2 and 6.

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Those references, culled as they are from Digambara (Items Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9) and Śvetāmbara works (Items Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8), illustrate the fact alluded to before that Siddhasena is acclaimed as an authority by both the sects, similar to Umāsvāti (or “Umāsvāmī”) and Samantabhadra, so much so that the problem to which sect he belonged remained long unsolved. It was only internal evidence which enabled the editors of the *Sanmatitarka* to decide that he “cannot have been a Digambara”¹.

In the meantime, the inscription on a Jina statue recently found in the Chandraprabha Temple of Jaisalmer has come to their support. It reads as follows²:—

- (१) श्रीनार्गेद्रकुले
- (२) श्रीसिद्धसेनदिवा (-)
- (३) कराचार्यगच्छे अ(-)
- (४) स्माच्छुप्ताभ्यां कारिता
- (५) संवत् १०८६

This legend also shows that Siddhasena belonged to the Nāgendra-Kula. As, according to the *Paṭṭāvalī*s, this Nāgendra-Kula was founded on Vajrasena's death 620 years after Mahāvīra, *i. e.* in 93 A. D., along with the Chandra-, Nirvṛiti-, and Vidyādhara-Kulas³, it is clear that he could not have belonged to the Vidyādhara-Kula. If, therefore, the Prabandhas declare Siddhasena to have belonged to the “Vidyādhara-Vara-Āmnāya”⁴,

1. Vide *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction P. 159.

2. Vide Sarabhai Manilal Navab, “Siddhasena Divākara Āchārya Gachchha sambandhi ek Ullekh” in *Jaina Saitya Prakāśa*, 7th year, 1942, P. 433.

3. Dharmasāgaragaṇi, *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-sūtra*, 1.1. P. 48; Anonymous *Paṭṭāvalī*, 1.1. P. 166; *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī* No. 2, 1.1. P. 18, etc.

4. *Prabhāvakacharita*, 1.1. P. 54.

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to the “Vidyādhara-Vamśa”¹, to the “Vidyādharendra-Gachchha”², or to the “Vidyādhara-Gachchha” respectively, all these references might point to the “Vidyādhari Śākhā” (founded centuries earlier by Vidyādhara Gopāla), as inferred by Pts. Sanghavi and Doshi³, on the basis of other premises.

To return to the question of Siddhasena’s date, H. Jacobi and afterwards P. L. Vaidya had previously tried to fix the same with the help of internal evidence. Tracing, *e. g.*, the term “*bhrānta*” which Siddhasena uses to the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, they inferred that Siddhasena must have lived after Dharmakīrti and thus placed him in the second half of the 7th century A. D. This theory was, however, proved to be untenable by Pts. Sanghavi and Doshi.⁴ Another argument adduced in favour of a later date by Pt. Mukhtar⁵ and based on a stanza which Siddhasena’s *Sanmatitarka* appears to share with Samantabhadra’s *Śrāvakāchāra* was likewise refuted by them.

On the basis of this material (excluding the above Items No. 2, details of 6, 7, and 10), the editors of the *Sanmatitarka* came to the conclusion that Siddhasena “most probably flourished in the fifth century of the Vikrama era”, *i. e.* in the “Gupta Period”⁶. In his Foreword to the English translation, it is true, Dalsukh Malvania had expressed the opinion that some Buddhist books published recently promised to “lead us to fix the date in question in the sixth or the seventh century

1. *Ibid.*, I. I. P. 61.

2. *Samyakhvasaptakā-vṛtti*, I. I., and *Upadeśaprāsāda*, I. I.

3. *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction P. 42.

4. Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, I. I Pp. 11 ff.

5. I. I. P. 15.

6. I. I. P. 17.

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A. D.”¹ In obvious supersession, however, Pt. Sanghavi has again confirmed his previous view, saying² that in the light of fresh researches re the time of the composition of Jinabhadragaṇi’s *Viśeshāvaśyaka-Bhāshya*, in which Siddhasena’s doctrines are discussed (vide above, Item No. 6), he now believes Siddhasena to have flourished in parts of the 5th and 6th centuries of the Vikrama era, which comes to the 5th century A. D.

Against this fixing of Siddhasena’s time, however, the objection can be raised that, properly speaking, it confines itself to the *terminus ante quem* which, it is true, stands beyond doubt, while, on the other hand, the fixing of a *terminus a quo* cannot be said to have been achieved. Nor does it seem likely that it could be achieved with the method hitherto resorted to, *viz.*, by drawing conclusions from the dates of heterodox works which happen to contain technical terms or doctrines criticized by Siddhasena. For in view of the vast literature, which, though testified to have existed, is no longer available, it must be admitted that our knowledge of early Indian philosophy is relatively limited. It is, therefore, unsafe to state on the basis of the chance-remains available whether, in an individual case, a term or a doctrine appears in a certain work for the first time, or whether it represents one of the later links in the chain of Guru-paramparā lost to our view.

Thus, the question of Siddhasena’s *terminus a quo* must be admitted to be still open.

5. THE GUṆAVACHANADVĀTRIMŚIKA

It seems, however, that for its solution an expedient offers itself which has not been utilized so far by

1. I. I. P. IV.

2. In his personal letter referred to already : P. 229, Note 2.

the scholars who have dealt with Siddhasena's chronology: I mean the direct evidence which the poet himself so eloquently gives in one of his works¹.

This work is the "*Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā*", the eleventh of those 21, or, under inclusion of the "*Nyāyāvatāra*", 22 *Dvātriṃśikās* which have survived out of Siddhasena's famous 32 *Dvātriṃśikās* testified to have once existed². These *Dvātriṃśikās*, an appreciation of which is given in the Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*,³ are all composed in high-flown Sanskrit and in various classical metres. All, with the exception of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā*, address themselves to Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara. A great part of them are in fact hymns in praise of Mahāvīra. They mostly contain refutations of heterodox philosophical systems or expositions of certain aspects of Jaina Philosophy, while some deal with the rules of disputation and controversy. In the middle of these purely spiritual or philosophical hymns stands the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā*, an isolated example of secular panegyric poetry, which, however, shares the other characteristics of its surroundings, including their polemic nature.

In this *Dvātriṃśikā*, a royal patron is addressed, who is revealed as such a unique personality, standing out in bold relief against a back-ground of warfare, empire-building and ingenious rule that, with the help of contemporaneous literature, even a modern reader can

1. At present, the following works of Siddhasena Divākara are available:

(a) 21 of his "*Dvātriṃśad-dvātriṃśikā*", (b) *Nyāyāvatāra*, (c) *Sanmatitarka*, (d) *Kalyāṇamandirastotra*: vide Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, l. 1.

2. Vide e. g. *Prabhāvakacharita*, ll P. 59, St. 142; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, l. 1. P. 88; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Version D, l. 1. P. 7; *Prabandhakośa*, l. 1. P. 18.

3. l. 1. Pp. 156 ff.

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guess who he was and thus infer when Siddhasena lived. In view of its historical importance and also for its own poetic merits, I render the poem here, critically emended on the basis of the printed edition¹ with the help of the two MSS which I was able to obtain².

The understanding of this poem is made somewhat difficult by the fact that behind the inspired eulogy with its graceful poetic figures hides itself a smart attack on the system of Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy³ achieved with the help of occasional paranomasia. Thus the word “guṇa”, the *leitmotiv*, as it were, of the whole poem, is sometimes used in its conventional meaning of “virtue”, “merit”, “excellent quality”, sometimes as a logical *terminus technicus* meaning “quality” in contradistinction to *dravya*, “substance”, while in some cases it is to

1. “Śrī-Siddhasena-Divākara-kṛita-granthamālā (*Ekavīmśati-Dvātriṃśikā*, *Nyāyāvātāra*, *Sammatśūtra* Mūla)”, Śrī-Jaina-dharma-Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar, Saṃvat 1965, P. 15 f (“Bh”).

2. (a) “*Dvātriṃśad-dvātriṃśikā*”, MS No. 32 of 1880/81 of the Government MSS Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (“P”), undated and without colophon. It contains the first 20 *Dvātriṃśikās*, including the poem under discussion which occupies Fols. 51 a—57 a and ends with the sub-colophon—“गुणवचनद्वित्रिंशिका समाप्ता ॥३॥”. A transcript I obtained through the courtesy of the Curator, Mr. P. K. Gode.

(b) A MS, without signature or number, of the Vijayadharma-Lakshmi-Jñānamandira of Agra, Belanganj (“A”), which contains the first 21 *Dvātriṃśikās*, and was made available to me through the kindness of my Guru on the field of Jaināgama and Old Gujarāṭi studies, Muni Vidyāvijaya. Its colophon runs as follows: “॥ मिति आषाढ वदी १ भौमवासरे श्रीसंवत् १९६१ हस्ताक्षरेण पंडित बालाजी वैद्यस्य ॥” The poem under discussion has the sub-colophon: “गुणवचनद्वित्रिंशिका एकादशोऽध्यायः समाप्ता ॥”.

3. Vide Stanzas 25 and 28. Here I must acknowledge my obligation to Pt Hiralal, Siddhānta-Śāstri, Ujjain, who, when I discussed the difficult 28th stanza with him, first recognized the allusions to Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy which it contains.

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be understood as conveying both the meanings simultaneously. Other words too are used with a similar *double entendre*, as the text itself will make clear. Though I am not sure whether I have in every case been able to understand the meaning or meanings which the poet wanted to convey, still I add, with some hesitation, a translation, in order to facilitate the ensuing discussion. The text seems so full of allusions, among them such to contemporaneous persons and events, that it will perhaps never yield all its secrets to the modern reader, far remote as he is from the golden age of Siddhasena and his brilliant patron.

Here follows the text :

गुणवचनद्वात्रिंशिका

समानपुरुषस्य तावदपवादयन् कीदृशः
 किमेव तु महात्मनामपरतन्त्रधीचक्षुषाम् ।
 अपास्य विनयस्मृती भुवि यशः स्वयं कुर्वता
 त्वयातिगुणवत्सलेन गुरवः परं व्यंसिताः ॥१॥
 श्रीराश्रितेषु विनयाभ्युदयः सुतेषु
 बुद्धिर्नयेषु रिपुवासगृहेषु तेजः ।
 वक्तुं यथायमुदितप्रतिभो जनस्ते
 कीर्तिं तथा वदतु तावदिहेति कश्चित् ॥२॥
 एकां दिशं व्रजति यद् गतिमद् गतं च
 तत्रस्थमेव च विभाति दिगन्तरेषु ।
 यातं कथं दशदिगन्तविभक्तमूर्ति
 युज्येत वक्तुमुत वा न गतं यशस्ते ॥३॥
 सत्यं गुणेषु पुरुषस्य मनोरथोऽपि
 श्लाघ्यः सतां ननु यथा व्यसनं तथैतत् ।
 यत्पश्यतः समुदितैरबलेत्युपास्ता
 कीर्तिस्तथा श्रुतिमुखानि वनानि याता ॥४॥

St. 1. Prithvi.

St. 2. Vasantatilakā.

St. 3. Vasantatilakā.—L. 4: युं—Bh, A; युंद्येत P.

St. 4. Vasantatilakā.—L. 3: —लोव्यु— Bh; L. 4:—मुखानि Bh.

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एतद् भो बहुबुध्यते हसतु मा कामं जनो दक्षिणः
 स्वार्थारम्भपटुः परार्थविमुखो लज्जानपेक्षो भवान् ।
 योज्यक्लेशसमर्जितान्यपि यशस्युत्तार्य लक्ष्मीपथा
 कीर्त्येकार्णववर्षिणापि यशसा नाद्यापि संतुष्यसे ॥५॥
 चाटुप्रीतेन मुक्ता यद्वियमगणिता दीयते राजलक्ष्मी-
 रन्योन्येभ्यो नृपेभ्यस्त्वदुरसि नृपते यापि विश्रम्भलीना ।
 मा भूदेष प्रसङ्गो निरनुयमतेरस्य मध्यप्यतस्ते
 कीर्तिस्तेनाप्रमेया न विनयचकिता सागरानप्यतीता ॥६॥
 अवश्यं कर्तव्यः श्रियमभिलषता पक्षपातो गुणेषु
 प्रसन्नायां तस्यां कथमिव च न ते लालनीया भवेयुः ।
 किमेषां वृत्तान्तं न बहसि नृपते लालनीया त्वदाज्ञा
 महेन्द्रादीनां यद्गुणपरितुलनादुर्विनीता गुणास्ते ॥७॥
 अन्येषां पार्थिवानां भ्रमति दश दिशः कीर्तिरिन्दुप्रभाभा
 त्वत्कीर्तेर्नास्ति शक्तिः पदमपि चलितुं किं भयात्सौकुमार्यात् ।
 आ ज्ञातं नैतदेवं श्रुतिपथचकिता तेन गच्छत्यजलं
 कीर्तिस्तेषां नृपाणां तव तु नरपते नास्ति कीर्तेरयातम् ॥८॥
 अन्येऽप्यस्मिन्नरपतिकुले पार्थिवा भूतपूर्वा-
 स्तैरप्येवं प्रणतसुमुखैरुद्धृता राजवंशाः ।
 न त्वेवं तैर्गुरुपरिभवः स्पृष्टपूर्वो यथायं
 श्रीस्ते राजञ्जुरसि रमते सत्यभामासपत्नी ॥९॥
 अगतिविचुरैर्लक्ष्मीं दृष्ट्वा चिरस्य सहोषितां
 यदि किल पररेकीभूतैर्गुणैस्त्वमुपाश्रितः ।
 इति गुणजितं लोकं मत्वा नरेन्द्र सुरायसे
 वदतु गुणवान् बुद्ध्यादीनां गुणः कतमस्तव ॥१०॥

St. 5. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1:—द्गोवृ—P, A; दप्रिणः A, L. 2: स्वार्थारम्भपटुः
 P; लब्ध्वा P; “नो भवान् ॥ स्वार्थारम्भपटुः परार्थविमुखो लज्जानपे—”
 A; L. 3:—समर्थि—P; L. 4:—ष्यते A.

St. 6. Sragdharā.—L. 2:—रान्यो—P; L. 3:—देषं P; मध्यप्य—P.

St. 7. Śobhā —L. 1:—लखता P; लखेता A; L. 3: बहसि P.

St. 8. Sragdharā.—L. 2:—त्सोक्—P; L. 3:—अन्यातं P, A; L. 4:—त्कीर्ते—
 A; नणते A; कीर्ति—A.

St. 9. Mandākrāntā. —L. 2:—द्वृता—A; L. 3:—भव—P, A; L. 4:
 —सिमते P, A.

St. 10. Harinī. —L. 1: लक्ष्मी P, A; दृष्णा A; L. 3: गुणे P.

गन्धद्विपो मधुकरानिव पङ्कजज्यो
 दानेन यो रिपुगणान् हरति प्रवीरान् ।
 चित्रं किमत्र यदि तस्य तवैव राज—
 ज्ञाज्ञां वहन्ति वसुधाधिपसौलमालाः ॥११॥

एकेयं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
 वस्यान्योन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशीला नृपाः ।
 ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन साद्य भवतैवात्माङ्कमारोपिता
 शेषैस्त्वत्परितोषभावितगुणैर्गोपालवत्याल्यते ॥१२॥

गृहाध्यक्षाः सिंहाः प्रमदवनचरा द्वीपिशार्दूलपोताः
 कराग्रैः सिच्यन्ते वनगजकलभेर्दीधिकातीरवृक्षाः ।
 पुरद्वारारक्षा दिशि दिशि महिषा यूथगुल्माप्रशूरा
 रुषानुध्यातानामतिललितमिदं जायते विद्विषां ते ॥१३॥

निर्मूलोच्छिन्नमूला भुजपरिघपरिस्पन्दवृत्तैर्नरेन्द्रैः
 संक्षिप्तश्रीविताना मृगपतिपतिभिः शत्रुवेशाः क्रियन्ते ।
 किं त्वेतद्राजवृत्तं स्वहचिपरिचयः शक्तिसंपन्नतेयं
 भङ्गवत्वा यच्छत्रुवंशानुचितशतगुणान् राष्ट्रलक्ष्म्या करोषि ॥१४॥

सर्वेऽप्येकमुखा गुणा गुणपतिं मानं विना निर्गुणा
 इत्येवं गुणवत्सलैर्नृपतिभिर्मानः परिष्वज्यते ।
 नान्यद्वैष तवापि किं च भवता लब्धास्पदस्तेष्वसौ
 मत्तेनेव गजेन कोमलतरुनिर्मूलमुत्खन्यते ॥१५॥

St. 11. Vasantatilakā. —L. 3: कमत्र P.

St. 12 Śārdūlavikrīḍita —L. 2: वस्यान्योन्य— would be preferable !
 —सुखा A; L. 3: भवतैचा— P.

St. 13. Śobhā.—L. 1: गृहा—Bh; गृहाध्यताः A; L. 2: कारा— P; वनगतकलत्रै-
 दी— A; L. 3. —शूराः A; L. 4: —लतिलमि— P; जयते Bh, P, A.

St. 14. Sragdharā. —L. 1: निम्— P; —स्तला P; परिघ— P; —हस्तै— A;
 L. 2: शक्र— P, A; L. 4: क्रवं— P, A.

St. 15. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. —L. 1: सर्वोऽ A; L. 2: परित्यज्यते Bh, P, A,
 corrected as per an oral suggestion of Dr. H. R. Diwekar, Controlling
 Officer, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. L. 3: —इवैव Bh; लब्ध्वा— A;
 L. 4: गतेन A.

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यत्प्राप्नोति यशस्तव क्षितिपते भूभेदमुत्पादयन्
 किं तत्त्वचरणोपसन्नमुकुटः प्राप्नोति कश्चिन्नृपः ।
 इत्येवं कुरुते स वल्लभयशस्त्वच्छासनातिक्रमं
 दर्पात्सूचितसन्मुखो न हि मृगः सिंहस्य न व्याप्यते ॥१६॥
 प्रसादयति निम्नगाः कलुषिताम्भसः प्रावृषा
 पुनर्नवसुखं करोति कुमुदैः सरः संगमम् ।
 विघाटयति दिङ्मुखान्यवपुनाति चन्द्रप्रभां
 तथापि च दुरात्मनां शरदरोचका त्वद्दिषाम् ॥१७॥
 न वेद्मि कथमप्ययं सुररहस्यभेदः कृत-
 स्त्वया युधि हतः परं पदमुपैति विष्णोर्यथा ।
 अतः प्रणयसंसृतामविगणय्य लक्ष्मीमसौ
 करोति तव सायकक्षममुरः सिधित्सुनृपः ॥१८॥
 अन्योन्यावेक्षया स्त्री भवति गुणवती प्रायशो विप्लुता वा
 लोकप्रत्यक्षमेतत्क्षितिर्विषमतया चञ्चला श्रियंथासीत् ।
 सैवान्यप्रीतिदानात्तव भुजवलयान्तःपुरप्राप्तमाना-
 मुर्वी दृष्ट्वा यथावत्सलघु सुचरिता हारसख्यं करोति ॥१९॥
 प्रसूतानां वृद्धिः परिणमति निःसंशयफला
 पुरावादश्चैष स्थितिरियमजेयेति नियमः ।
 जगद्वृत्तान्तेऽस्मिन् विवदति तवेयं नरपते
 कथं वृद्धा च श्रीर्न च परुषितो यौवनगुणः ॥२०॥

St. 16. Śardūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1:—भू—P; L. 3: त्वच्चा— A, P, Bh; L. 4:
 दर्पास्तवित—P, दर्पास्तवित— A, दर्पासूचित— Bh; व्याप्यते P.

St. 17. Prithvī.—L. 2:—मुखं P; L. 3:—रमु—A; L. 4:—कस्तद्दिषाम् Bh, P,
 कस्तद्वि A.

St. 18. Prithvī.—L. 4: सायकः Bh; शिखि—A;—नृप Bh.

St. 19. Sragdharā.—L. 1:—न्यावक्ष—P, A; प्रायसो P, A; विष्णुता B ; L. 2:
 लोके P; चञ्चला A;—यथा—A; L. 4: उर्वी A; दयाव—Bh; यु, शि P;
 —सङ्ख्यं A, —संख्यं Bh.

St. 20. Śikharinī.—L. 1: निःसंश—A;—कल Bh; L. 3:—स्मिन्न—A; L. 4:
 कथ A; व श्री—P, A; व पर—A.

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अन्तर्गूढसहस्रलोचनधरं भूभेदवज्रायुधं
 कस्त्वा मानुषविग्रहं हरिरिति ज्ञातुं समर्थो नरः ।
 यद्येते मधवञ्जगद्धिततरास्त्वा बल्लभाः स्वामिन-
 त्वद्भूदेशपटुप्रकीर्णसलिला न ख्यापयेयुर्धनाः ॥२१॥

महीपालोऽसीति स्तुतिवचनमेतन्न गुणजं
 महीपालः खिन्नामवनिमुरसा धारयति यः ।
 यदा तावद् गर्भे त्वमथ सकलश्रीर्वसुमती
 किमीयायुष्मस्ते नवशिवमिमां पश्यति महीम् ॥२२॥

शतेष्वेकः शूरो यदि भवति कश्चिन्नयपटु-
 स्तथा दीघपिक्षी रिपुविजयनिःसाध्वसशरः ।
 तदेतत्संपूर्णं द्वितयमपि येनाद्यगुरुषे
 श्रुतं वा दृष्टं वा स वदतु यदि त्वा न वदति ॥२३॥

अयनविषमा भानोर्दीप्तिर्दिनक्षयपेलवा
 परिभवसुखं मत्तैर्मत्तैर्धनैश्च बिलुप्यते ।
 सततसकला निर्व्यासङ्गं समाश्रितशीतला
 तव नरपते दीप्तिः साम्यं तथा कथमेष्यति ॥२४॥

को नामैष करोति नाशयति वा भाग्येष्वधीनं जगत्
 स्वातन्त्र्ये कथमीश्वरस्य न वशः स्रष्टुं विशिष्टाः प्रजाः ।
 लब्धं वक्तुमशक्यं सभास्विति चिरं तापोऽद्य तेजस्विना-
 मिच्छामात्रसुखं यथा तव जगत्स्यादीश्वरोऽपीदृशः ॥२५॥

St. 21. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1: —लोचनं A;—ज्ञायु—A; L. 2: कस्त्वा P, L. 3:

—गधित—P; बल्ल—A;—भःस्वा—Bh, P, A; L. 4: भूट्टे—A.

St. 22. Śikhariṇī.—L. 1: स्तु—A; L. 3: त्वमथ P;—मति—Bh; L. 4:

—ष्माणा—A, P, Bh.

St. 23. Śikhariṇī.—L. 2: —सपरः—Bh.

St. 24. Harinī.—L. 1: —पेलनं A; L. 2: first मत्तै—missing in P, A;

मस्तथ—A; धनैश्च P; L. 3: निष्वा—P, निवा—A; L. 4: सव A; —प्तिस्सा—P, A; तथा P.

St. 25. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 2: श्रष्टुं P, A; L. 3: चक्तु—P; सभां—A,

सभास्थि—P; L. 4: जगत्स्या—P; 5 missing P, A.

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गण्डेष्वेव समाप्यते विवदतां यद्धारणानां मदो
 यद्वा भूमिषु यन्मनोरथशतैस्तुष्यन्ति तेजस्विनः ।
 यत्कान्तावदनेषु पत्ररचनासङ्गश्च ते मन्त्रिणां
 तत्सर्वं द्विषतां मनोज्ञुगतया कीर्त्यापराद्धं तव ॥२६॥
 क्रमोपगतमप्यपास्य युगभागधेयं कले-
 रपर्वणि य एष ते कृतयुगावतारः कृतः ।
 भवेदपि महेश्वरस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरो वाच्युतो
 विधातुरपि नूनमद्य जगदुद्भवे संशयः ॥२७॥
 गुणो नमः द्रव्यं भवति गुणतश्च प्रभवति
 गुणापेक्षं कर्माप्यनुनयमनारम्भविषमम् ।
 विभु स्यात् किं द्रव्यं गुणजमुत वान्यः पदविधि-
 र्यशो दिक्पर्यन्तं तव किमिति शक्यं गमयितुम् ॥२८॥

‘THE DVĀTRIMŚIKĀ DEALING WITH “QUALITIES”

(1) What kind of a man is he who gives offence by setting aside good breeding and tradition in front of an ordinary person? (Not content with such behaviour,) you have set them aside in front of exalted persons of independent intellect and sight, as by your overgreat fondness for “Qualities” you keep creating Renown over the world all by yourself, thus badly cheating those to whom respect is due (*i. e.*, bards etc. whose privilege it is to spread peoples’ fame) !

(2) My intellect allows me to state that your royal wealth is with those who approach you for shelter, the result of your good breeding in your sons, your judge-

St. 26. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 3: पत्त— A; —ङ्गच्छते P; L. 4: मनोन्— A; —द्वन्तव P.

St. 27. Prithvi.—L. 3: दसि म— P, A; L. 4: तनम— P.

St. 28. Śikhariṇī.—L. 2: कर्माप्य— A; —यमारम्भ— P; —विषयं Bb; L. 3: विभुः Bb, A; —विद्ये— P, A; L. 4: दिशो दि—P.

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ment in your maxims (or, logical stand-points)¹ and your ambition in the living-apartments of your enemies. I challenge anybody to declare in the same way where your Fame is to be found (which is difficult, as shown in the following stanza) !

(3) Possessed of motion, your Renown wanders in one direction, and, after having moved there, and even while staying there, shines forth in the other directions ! What is it thus appropriate to state, that it has moved or that it has not moved, its form being spread over all the ten directions of the world ?²

(4) A person's mere desire for "Qualities" is most decidedly praiseworthy in the eyes of good people. It is, however, doubtful whether this is also the case with this actual passion which you have for them : for all of them have manifested themselves simultaneously in you and, understanding your Fame to be a helpless woman, they have overwhelmed her before your very eyes, so that she went into the wildernesses where hearing is easy !

(5) Listen ! I proclaim it loudly ! An intelligent person may laugh at me as he pleases ! You are keen on enterprises serving your own purpose, averse to the interest of others and regardless of shame, as even now you are not satisfied as yet with your Renown, whose path is that of Lakshmī (*i. e.*, which is acquired by liberality) and which is showering down (on you) a

1. "Naya", one of the fundamental terms of Jaina Logic, with which Siddhasena has dealt in detail in his *Sanmatitarka* (I. 22 ff.; Pp. 26 ff. of the English edition of Pts Sanghavi and Doshi, Bombay, 1939), showing that real truth can only be arrived at by seeing a thing from various stand-points and drawing conclusions from the aggregate, true to the Jaina doctrine of *Anekānta-vāda* or "Relativity of Truth".

2. This passage recalls *Sanmatitarka* III. 29 (I. I. P. 140), where, explaining the *Anekānta-vāda*, the author declares an object to be in motion only with reference to the direction in which it moves and at rest with reference to the other directions.

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veritable deluge of Fame,¹ sweeping aside the Renown of others, though the latter was won (by them) with trouble !

(6) Being abandoned by you in your fondness for pleasant words, though she was reclining trustingly on your breast, this uncouth royal Fortune (Rāja-Lakṣmī) is given away by you to various princes. Seeing this, your Fame got frightened, lest you, of inconsiderate mind as you are, might behave towards her in the same way : therefore she has become immeasurable² and transcends even the oceans, unrestrained by modesty !

(7) He who covets Fortune (Śrī) must necessarily be particular to Qualities; but after she has become favourable, they need not be indulged at all any longer. How is it that you do not conform with this way of treating them, O King ? (You have won over Śrī to such an extent that) Mahendra and the others fondly obey your order. (Still you go on indulging your Qualities so excessively that) measuring themselves with the Qualities of the former (and exulting in their own superiority), they have got out of control !

(8) The Fame of the other rulers roams about in the ten directions, similar to the light of the moon. Your Fame, however, is not able to move even a step : is it because she is afraid, or is she too delicate ? Oh, I

1. Obviously Siddhasena differentiates here between *yaśas* (rendered by "Renown") and *kīrti* (rendered by "Fame"), like Viśvanātha Kavirāja in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* : *yaśas* being acquired by learning etc. and *kīrti* by the sword, according to the explanation of the commentator Rāmācharaṇa Tarkavāgiśa Bhaṭṭācārya (N. S. P. Edition of 1931, P. 437 f.). The above passage seems to imply that the fame of the great liberality of Siddhasena's patron is the basis of his general fame.

2. Or, "unprovable" in the logical sense.

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know! It is not like that! The Fame of those kings walks incessantly because she is alarmed at the (length of the) path of hearing (which still lies before her), while for your Fame (which is already spread all over the world) no space is left which she has not already covered (and where she could put down her foot)!

(9) In this line of kings, there were other rulers, too, in the past who graciously stooped to those bowing before them and who uplifted royal dynasties in this very way. Yet never before (was kindness carried so far by any of them that) they would have suffered a gross humiliation like this present one (consisting in the fact that) Śrī is playing at your breast, O King, (though she is) Satyabhāmā's co-wife¹ (and out of courtesy, you refrain from asking her to go away, though her indiscreet behaviour must expose you to undesirable criticism)!

(10) Having seen Lakshmi, their companion of old, staying near you and being bereft (of her company) owing to her unwillingness to go (away from you), the good Qualities of the other (princes) have in unison attached themselves to you. If thus, thinking that you have conquered the world by good Qualities, you behave like a god, O Indra among men, a person of (the requisite) Qualities (*viz.*, courage and truthfulness) should state which of those Qualities (by which you conquered the world), including intellect, are in fact yours (and which belong to the other princes)!

1. This obviously refers to Śrī's avatāra as Rukmiṇī. It is not impossible that Satyabhāmā may cover the name of the royal patron's chief queen! This is why I hesitate to accept the ingenious suggestion of Dr. H. R. Dīwekar with whom I had the privilege to discuss some points of this poem and who thinks that "Satyabhāmāsapatnī" may be corrupted out of "satyam āyāsanti", "actually troubling you (by her officiousness)", which makes excellent sense indeed.

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(11) As a scent-elephant lures the bees away from the lotuses by his rut-fluid, so you win over the brave troops¹ of your enemies by your liberality: what wonder that rows of diadems worn by overlords of the earth carry only your order, O King?

(12) This Earth, though only one, was for many days the beloved of many. How kind-hearted those princes must have been, O King, thus sharing their happiness with one another! Only you, selfish with jealousy, have now taken her on your lap (and claim her) all for yourself, while the other (princes), in whom your satisfaction produces good Qualities (*viz.* self-restraint, chastity and selflessness), only guard her like cow-herds!

(13) This very strange thing may happen to your enemies whom you think of with annoyance: lions become their household-controllers, panther and tiger cubs walk about in their pleasure-groves, wild elephants' calves water with their trunks the trees at the borders of their oblong garden-lakes, and buffaloes, heroes as it were, at the head of their troops represented by their herds, function as guards at their city gates in all directions!

(14) Kings, proud of the swelling (muscles) of their arms which resemble iron-bars, behave like overlords of lords of beasts in utterly (pun: to the very roots) destroying the capital cities (pun: thickets) of the countries of their enemies and in cutting down the expansion (pun: creepers) of the latter's royal wealth (pun: lotuses). Such kingly procedure betrays individual liking. An outcome of real strength is what you are practising, when, after defeating inimical royal

1. The word "gana" is decidedly not used in the political sense here.

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dynasties, you equip them with a royal wealth which is the hundred-fold of that to which they were accustomed.

(15) All the Qualities have one overlord, and are void of Quality without this their chief, *viz.*, Pride.¹ Keeping this in mind, kings who are fond of Qualities embrace Pride alone, and no other (Quality). What, however, is he (the other kings' Pride) to you ? Though he has found shelter with those (princes), you eradicate him with his very roots as a mad elephant (eradicates) a sapling !

(16) Can any king whose royal diadem keeps near your feet (owing to his constantly bowing to you) acquire the same renown as is gained by the one who makes you frown, O Lord of the Earth ? (Knowing this to be unlikely) he who is fond of renown breaks your order : for a deer which boldly indicates its presence and confronts the lion cannot escape the latter's notice.

(17) The Autumn purifies the rivers whose water became turbid during the rainy season, it brings about the reunion of the lake with the lotuses, thus causing fresh joy, it opens the (whole) expanse of the sky and cleanses the lustre of the moon (Chandra) : yet with those mean persons, your enemies, this (season) is not popular (as it is the season of warfare, and they fear to be defeated by you) !

(18) I wonder how in the world this divine secret got disclosed, (but it is a fact that) since he whom you kill in battle reaches the highest step of Viṣṇu, a king

1. Cp. Umāsvāti, *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra* V. 40 : "dravyāśrayā nirguṇā guṇāḥ" (Edition of Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhār Fund Series No. 67, 1926, P. 435), as well as Kaṇāda, *Vaiśeṣika-Darśana*, I. 1.16 : "dravyāśrayyaguṇavān.....guṇalakṣaṇam".

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who desires final beatitude makes his chest ready for your arrow, not heeding Lakshmi who lovingly attends him !

(19) It depends on the reciprocal care (of husband and wife for each other) whether a woman becomes virtuous or licentious. This fact is before the eyes of the world. For in the past, so long as you were indifferent to the Earth, Śrī was unsteady. When however you gave your love to the other, and she saw the Earth (her co-wife) respected in the harem of your encircling arms, this same Śrī became as well-behaved as she ought to be and readily makes intimacy with the necklace (on your breast).

(20) It is an ancient saying that whosoever is born grows and ages with doubtless result, and this state of things is unavoidable, such is the law (of nature). With this course of the world, however, this your Śrī, O King, is at variance : for how is it that though she is old and full-grown, yet the Quality of youthfulness has not become impaired in her case ?

(21) Since you keep your thousand eyes hidden within, use the frown instead of the thunderbolt, and possess the body of a human being, who could know you to be "Hari", if, O Maghavan, those heavy clouds, beneficent to the Earth and beloved of the Lord, splashing water in plenty on the ground of your territories, were not to proclaim you as such ?

(22) To say that you are the "Protector of the Earth" is not a mere panegyric phrase, but it is based on the respective Quality : a "Protector of the Earth" being he who lends the support of his breast to the troubled Earth. For when you were in (your mother's) womb, the Earth with all her wealth (was divided

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among so many princes that it would have been difficult to state) whose she was (*i. e.*, she was then troubled indeed, while) now, since she is yours, new prosperity looks on this (same) Earth (due to your protection).

(23) (If it is possible that) the one hero out of a hundred persons is (simultaneously also) judicious in his maxims (or, logical stand-points), and if it is possible that he who is able to aim his arrows boldly, causing the enemies' defeat, is also at the same time of far-sighted wisdom, then he should speak up who has heard of or seen in its completeness this duality (of Qualities) in the "Ancestor", unless he were to point to you.

(24) The lustre of the Sun is unequal in the two parts of the year, weak at the end of the day, and his joy in defeating (everything alive on the earth by his heat) is marred by mad, mad clouds : how can it serve as a comparison with your lustre, O King, which is always in full display and cooling for all who approach you, without distinction ?

(25) Who indeed is he who creates or annihilates a world dependent on destinies ? If there is an all-powerful God, was it not in his might to produce beings of a higher order¹ ? Now-a-days, whenever orator-renown is won, it is for a long time an occasion of grief to ambitious persons (who ardently desire to gain it, but are every time outshone by your superior rhetorical achievements). Just as the happiness of this your world (of disputants) exists in their desire only, the same is perhaps the case with God (*i. e.*, as the desire of those disputants for fame

1. This is an attack against the idea of Creationistic Causation (Ārambhavāda) of the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy : vide "*A Primer of Indian Logic* according to Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṃgraha*" by S. Kuppaswami Sastri, Madras, 1932, Part III, P. 109, which is directly opposed to the Jaina dogma of the eternity of the world and the absence of a Creator and an act of Creation : vide *Sammatitarka*, I.I., III. 32 ff. and notes.

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is frustrated by your superiority, just so God may be prevented from creating a world according to his desires by the law of Karman) !

(26) If the rut (pun : excitement) of your fighting elephants (pun : disputants opposing each other) spends itself on their temples (pun : in the *ganḍa*-type of dialogue), or if your ambitious (warriors,) (forced by long peace to stay inactive) in the country, have to content themselves with hundreds of desires (for battle), or if your ministers are interested only in the *patra-rachanā* (decorative design drawn with sandal paste, etc.; pun : composition of political documents, or : array of chariots etc. for war) on the faces of their beloveds : for all this your Fame alone must be made responsible who keeps haunting the minds of your enemies (so that they do not dare to engage in war with you, and peace remains in the land).

(27) Though it is still the turn of the era of Kali, you have shaken off its remaining portion, and have led in, without even allowing for the (traditional) break (between the two eras succeeding each other), this manifestation of the Kṛita Era ! (In view of this authority thus displayed by you, one might ask whether) the Lord of the Universe is really Maheśvara or Achyuta (or whether it is not rather you), and doubts may even be entertained now-a-days as to whether the world was indeed brought forth by the Creator.

(28) Is it possible to explain (under application of the principles of Vaiśeṣika Logic) how your Renown has spread as far as to the cardinal points ?

(According to Vaiśeṣika Logic, the above proposition would mean that conjunction (*saṁyoga*) has taken place between your Renown and the cardinal points.

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Conjunction can take place between two substances (*dravya*) only¹. The cardinal points (*diś*) do fall under the category of substance², it is true; but Renown, being a species of *śabda*, would be a quality³. Does therefore your Renown, though being a quality, play the part of a substance, or, in other words, is it to be assumed that in this case, though the difference between substance and quality as separate categories (*padārtha*) is one of the main axioms of Vaiśeṣika Logic⁴,) *quality becomes substance in fact*?

(If this is conceded for argument's sake, it leads to another embarrassment. For since Renown is produced by Qualities (in the conventional sense, such as liberality, valour, sagacity), it would have to be admitted that in this case) *substance is produced by quality*, (though Vaiśeṣika Logic teaches that a substance can

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1. Vide *Vaiśeṣika-Darśana* by Kaṇāda Muni ed by M. G. Bakre, Bombay, 1913, 7-2-16 (P. 282); also *A Primer of Indian Logic*, 11, Part III, P. 65.
 2. Kaṇāda, 11, 1-1-5, P 17; Annambhaṭṭa, 11, Sūtra 3 a (Part II, P. 2).
 3. Kaṇāda, 11, 2-2-21 to 25, Pp 113 ff; Annambhaṭṭa, 11, Sūtra 3 b.
 4. Kaṇāda, 11, 8-2-3 (P. 307); Annambhaṭṭa, 11, Sūtra 2 Particularly instructive and useful for the understanding of Siddhasena's stratagems is the following annotation of the editor of the *Tarkasaṃgraha* (1.1. P. 15 of Part III) · "It may also be useful to remember here that the conception of substance (*dravya*) as the substratum of qualities and movements is the bed-rock of the realism of Nyāya; and one has only to show the hollowness of the Nyāya distinctions of substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*) and movement (*karman* or *kriyā*), in order to knock off the bottom of the Nyāya realism." This is exactly what Siddhasena is doing to the Vaiśeṣika system, with which the Naiyāyika system shares this doctrine. In opposition to this doctrine of the Naiyāyika-Vaiśeṣika system of the absolute difference between *dravya* and *guṇa*, as well as that of the Sāṃkhya system of their absolute identity with each other, Siddhasena has, in his *Sanmatīarka* (11. III. 16 ff., Pp. 125 ff.), defended the Jaina doctrine of their being neither absolutely different nor absolutely identical, true to the principle of Anekānta-vāda — Kaṇāda especially groups *dravya*, *guṇa*, and *karman* together as *artha*.

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only be produced by a substance, but never by a quality¹. Consequently your Renown cannot be defined as a substance !)

(Let it therefore be assumed to be a quality. As the conjunction (*saṃyoga*) of the latter with the cardinal points has taken place, and this presupposes that your Renown has performed the action of moving² there, it follows that the action of moving must have inhered in a quality. According to Vaiśeṣhika Logic, action can inhere in a substance only, but never in a quality³. Therefore) *an action inhering in a quality would likewise be objectionable (vishama) logically (anunayam), as it could have no initiative (ārambha) (i. e., it could not take place*⁴ (pun : it would be beginningless, i. e. eternal, though action is characterised in Vaiśeṣhika Logic as unstable⁵.) Therefore your Renown cannot be a quality either !)

Could it perhaps be a pervasive substance? (In that case, the objection would arise that the cardinal points with which its conjunction takes place are likewise pervasive substances; and according to Vaiśeṣhika Logic, conjunction cannot take place between two pervasive substances⁶. Besides, since Renown is) *produced by Qualities* (,it is a producible thing (*janya padārtha*), and, according to the Vaiśeṣhikas, producible things cannot be pervasive⁷. Therefore your Renown cannot be a pervasive substance either.

1. Kaṇāda 1-1-10 (I. I. P. 28).

2. Kaṇāda 1-1-30, P. 43.

3. Kaṇāda 5-2-22 to 24.

4. An allusion to the Ārambha-vāda of Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy : cp. also *Sanmatitarka*, Text Pp. 30 and 152 ff.

5. Kaṇāda 1-1-8, P. 25; also Annambhaṭṭa, Sūtra 3 c and III, Pp. 19 ff.

6. Kaṇāda 7-2-9, P. 275; Annambhaṭṭa III, Pp. 95, 125.

7. Kaṇāda 7-1-22, P. 261; Annambhaṭṭa III, P. 126.

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Thus according to Vaiśeṣika Logic, it would not be possible for your Renown to reach the cardinal points, though it is an established fact that it has done so.)

Or is there any further way of applying the terms ?

(If not, Vaiśeṣika Logic has failed !)

What strikes the reader of the *Guṇavachanadvā-triṃśikā* at first sight is the resemblance which it bears to Siddhasena Divākara's remaining creations. The *Sanmatitarka* and *Nyāyāvatāra* it recalls by the dogmatic and philosophical subjects which it directly or indirectly touches. Its relationship with the remaining *Dvātriṃśikās* and the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* it betrays by similarities re style and diction, boldness of imagination, brilliance of wit, devotion to the Jaina faith, and, last but not least, the reluctance of the logician to abandon, even for a while, his beloved speciality, logic, in which he keeps indulging even under the influence of poetic inspiration. There he is seen playing with some logical term, which his poetic skill makes scintillate with unexpected meanings; again he is found advocating some logical theory, or dealing a quick feint at a heterodox opponent by a brilliant poetic figure, performing the miracle of making abstract logic blossom into concrete life.

Though a Jaina ascetic, the poet possesses insight into politics, diplomacy and court-life, and is full of humaneness and a humour which often elicits a smile even from the modern reader. Yet he is a devoted Jaina, and takes every occasion, no matter if he has to create it himself, to plead for the doctrines of his religion. This he does with conviction and fervour, yet without fanaticism, for his broad-mindedness allows him to utilize ideas of Hindu mythology whenever

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desirable, and his perfect poetic manners prevent him from transgressing the limits of polite polemics and good taste, even when tackling an opponent.

Being a Jaina Sādhū, and as such plighted to absolute poverty and abstinence from worldly enjoyments, it can only have been the love for his faith and zeal for its aggrandizement which prompted him to compose this secular panegyric, making no secret of his intention to please a royal patron and gain his favour, for ends which can only have been pure and selfless.

And yet, his tone betrays that he sincerely loved and admired that royal patron for those unusual qualities of intellect and character on which he so eloquently dwells. Sometimes, as though feeling shy of showing his admiration too freely, he disguises eulogy by apparent chiding and teasing, in a form which strikes the reader by its boldness,—obviously the boldness of a confidant and favourite, to whom such liberty was willingly conceded. On the other hand, the poet seems perfectly sure of his success in paying this unusual patron the most subtle compliment that could be thought of, *viz.*, by weaving into nearly every line of this *Dvātrīṃśikā* the implication that, as a matter of course, his patron is all the time following him into the depths of erudition which he displays, and is able to appreciate the intricacies of poetic and polemic skill to which he treats him.

6. WHEN WAS THE GUṆAVACHANADVĀTRĪMŚIKĀ COMPOSED ?

There can be no doubt that this royal patron must have been a man of outstanding personality, and a person of high position, in fact a ruler likely to have left the imprint of his genius on the history of his time. Yet as his name is not given, his whereabouts cannot

directly be ascertained. When scrutinizing the poem for indications re the time of its composition, and thus the period in history in which this mysterious patron lived, one feels inclined to ask whether contemporaneousness with Kālidāsa might not be inferred from a number of ideas and expressions which the Dvātrīṃśikā has in common with the works of that poet.¹ If Kālidāsa belongs to the Gupta period, as is assumed now-a-days by the majority of scholars, this would fit in well with the fact that the poem under discussion also agrees in certain points of style and diction with the poetical Gupta Prasastis available so far, such as Harishena's Allahabad Pillar Inscription, the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, the Udayagiri Cave Inscription, the Meharauli Inscription, the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription, and later imitations. There are, *e. g.*, the stereotyped ideas of the eulogized king's fame pervading the universe, or, personified, roaming over the earth², of the king himself perceived as a god (Indra)³, or as gaining untold fame by his good qualities⁴, or as conquering the world by the latter,

1. Thus for instance, St 1 recalls "mūdhah parapatrayanayabuddhiḥ" of *Mālavikāgnimitra* (N S P, 1924, P 3), St 4 d the passage "śrutau taskaratā sthitā" of *Raghuvamśa* I. 27 b, St 9 b and 14 d the passage "āpādapadmapraṇatāḥ. utkhātapratīropitāḥ" of *Raghuvamśa* IV. 37, St 17 the passage "prasasādodayād ambhah. Raghor abhibhavāśaṅki chukshubhe dvishatām manah" of *Raghuvamśa* IV. 21, St 21 the passage "mahitalasparśanamātrabhinnam ṛiddham hi rājyam padam aindram āhuḥ" of *Raghuvamśa* II. 50.—A number of similarities between passages of other Dvātrīṃśikās and such of Kālidāsa have been pointed out by the editors of the *Sammatīṭṭhaka*, I. Pp 26 ff: some of them are more striking than those quoted here !

2. St 3 and 8: cp. Eraṇ Pillar Inscription (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, P. 261); St 6: Kahāum Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 309); St 1: Allahabad Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 259), Para 30.
3. St. 10 and 21: cp. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 259), Para 28; Kahāum Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 309); St 1: Bihār Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 316).
4. St. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15, and 28: cp. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 258), Para 25.

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trespassing on the realm of the gods, as expressed in the following significant words .

“गुणजितं लोकं मत्वा नरेन्द्र सुरायसे” (St. 10)¹

This passage, on the other hand, obviously cannot be separated from legends on Gupta coins like the following :

- (a) राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः
(Samudragupta)²
- (b) अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति
(Samudragupta)³
- (c) काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति
(Kācha)⁴
- (d) क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः
(Chandragupta II)⁵
- (e) गुणेशो महीतलं जयति कुमार (sic !)
(Kumāragupta I)⁶
- (f) गामवजित्य सुचरितैः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति
(Kumāragupta I)⁷
- (g) जयति स्वभूमौ गुणराशि.....महेन्द्रकुमार (sic !)
(Kumāragupta I)⁸

The parallelism of the wording and idea of these legends with the pertinent passage of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription has been pointed out by D. Sharma,⁹

1. St. 10: cp Meharauli Pillar Inscription (l. 1, P. 267), St. 2 and 3.

2. Sircar, 11, P. 267.

3. G H Ojha: *Prāchīna Mudrā* (Hindi Anuvāda), Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Saṁ. 1981, P. 159.

4. Sircar, 11, P. 269.

5. Ojha, 11, P. 166.

6. 11, P. 174.

7. 11, P. 174.

8. 11, P. 178.

9. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, P. 185 f.

who, on this basis, inferred their contemporaneousness.

The much discussed expression “*anudhyāta*,” too, used by Siddhasena in St. 13, though in an ironical sense, sounds like an echo from Gupta inscriptions or their imitations¹ (and, for the matter of that, demonstrates *ad oculos* the fact that the root has retained its transitive meaning in this particular application²).

Another significant parallel between the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā* and Gupta remains is the idea of the extremely wanton Śrī, who behaves towards Siddhasena’s royal patron in the same capricious way as she does towards inscriptional Gupta rulers³, and haunts the former’s proximity just as fondly as she does that of the Gupta kings of those famous coins⁴ on which she is so persistently depicted, taking her turn with the respective Paṭṭamahārājñī (St. 9, 10, 19, 20).

Even leaving details aside, one can scarcely resist the general impression that the whole *Dvātriṃśikā* appears like a poetic paraphrase of the stereotyped epithets attached to the names of Imperial Gupta rulers from Samudragupta onward in grants and other docu-

1. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (Sircar, I.1., P. 260), Udayagiri Cave Inscription (I.1., P. 271), Karamdāṇḍa Stone Liṅga Inscription (I.1., P. 282), Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription (I.1., P. 313), Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription (I.1., P. 318), Bhitari Seal (I.1., P. 322), Guṇaighar Copper-plate Inscription (I.1., P. 331), etc

2. Vide the recent discussions between D. C. Sircar (*Indian Culture IX* (1942), Pp. 115 ff.), B. Ghosh (*Itiā*, Pp. 118 ff.), K. Chattopadhyaya (*Indian Historical Quarterly XVIII* (1942) P. 63f.), V.V. Mirashi (*Ibid XX* (1944), Pp. 288 ff.), among whom Dr. D. C. Sircar’s and K. Chattopadhyaya’s interpretation is borne out as correct by Siddhasena’s passage.

3. Junāgaḍh Inscription (Sircar, P. 301), St. 5; Bhitari Pillar Inscription (I.1., P. 314), St. 6.

4. Ojha, I.1., Pp. 158 ff.

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ments¹, such as *aprativāryavīrya*, *sarvarājochchhettri*, *prithivyām apratiratha*, *chaturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśas*, *Dhanadavarunendrāntakasama*, *kṛtāntaparaśu*, *nyāyā-gatānekagohiranyakoṭiprada*.

In view of these observations, coupled with the fact that the very policy of Siddhasena's patron, his tolerance, urbanity, liberality, love for learning and rhetoric and his personal proficiency therein, in short the whole atmosphere of cultural refinement surrounding this king, are typical features of the Gupta age, one cannot help asking whether Siddhasena's patron may not have been one of those great Gupta rulers of India's Golden Age.

7. WHO WAS SIDDHASENA'S PATRON ?

To decide this question, it recommends itself to visualise more closely the features which distinguish Siddhasena's patron in the light of the *Guṇavachanadvā-trimśikā*. They are as follows :

A. POSITION AND CAREER

(1) He was the scion of a dynasty of rulers and feudatory lords : St. 9.

(2) In the beginning of his reign, he was "indifferent to the Earth", i. e., he did not undertake campaigns of conquest, and subsequently the prosperity of the country and the royal fortune were not stable : St. 19.

(3) At that time, the land was divided among many princes, who fought with one another for its possession, so that the right of property was uncertain and people were troubled. This condition had been prevailing since a considerable time : St. 12, 22.

1. Vide Sircar, I.L., P. 265, Note 4 and the following inscriptions.

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(4) Siddhasena's patron then started a number of victorious campaigns against those princes and conquered their territories : St. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23.

(5) The defeated princes became his vassals, as, instead of humiliating or exploiting them according to the usual procedure, he restituted their principalities to them and even strengthened their position by financial help : St. 12, 14.

(6) Others of the neighbouring rulers he won over by diplomatic tactics with lavish liberality, so that they became his allies : St. 11.

(7) In this way, he created a vast empire under his undisputed control, counting crowned kings among his allies or vassals : St. 7, 10, 11, 12.

(8) Opposition or rebellion he suppressed with a strong hand, and thus made himself feared to such an extent that none of his vassals or neighbours dared to stir, and the eventual perpetrator of an insurrection made himself notorious : St. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17.

(9) By this policy, he led in a long period of peace and prosperity. During this period, the *Guṇavachana-dvātrimśikā* was written.

(10) The prosperity of the empire was great: St. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 27.

(11) The splendour and wealth of the royal court were immense : St. 21.

(12) His fame was far-reaching : St. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 16. It extended even beyond the seas : St. 6.

(13) He encouraged and took active part in learned discussions on philosophical subjects : St. 25.

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(14) He had sons, whose good breeding is praised :
St. 2.

B. PERSONALITY

(15) He possessed many unusual good qualities,
by which his fame was established : St. 4, 7, 10.

(16) The poet particularly praises his intellect,
sagacity, independence of judgement and far-sighted-
ness : St. 1, 2, 23.

(17) He was lavishly liberal : St. 5, 6, 11, 14.

(18) His manners were cultured : St. 2.

(19) He was keen on conquest, personally skilful
at arms and brave in battle : St. 2, 18, 23.

(20) His great kind-heartedness, urbanity and
politeness are repeatedly praised : St. 2, 9, 24.—They
were so outspoken as to provoke the poet's sarcasm,
as is evident from Stanza 9.

(21) He was so erudite and fond of learning that
Siddhasena could hope to gain his favour by as intri-
cately difficult a piece of poetry as the *Dvātrimsikā* under
discussion, which he must have been able to appreciate.
Not only this, but his proficiency in philosophy must have
been of such a high standard that he could personally
defeat the learned and ambitious disputants of his as-
semblies, one of whom was the most famous of the
Jaina logicians of all times : St. 25.

(22) He was a great orator : St. 25.

(23) The ideas of Hindu mythology which the
poet resorts to repeatedly (vide his reference to *Śrī-*
Lakshmī in St. 6, 9, 10, 19, 20, to the divine trinity of
Śiva-Vishṇu-Brahman, or rather, in the poet's own
words, to *Maheśvara-Achyuta-Vidhātṛi* in St. 27, to the

Vishṇu-pada in St. 18, and to the Kali and Kṛita Yugas in St. 27 : all ideas foreign to Jainism), applying them in the very middle of pronounced Jinistic notions, can only be understood and justified under the assumption that the Jaina poet addresses himself to a Hindu patron.

(24) That Siddhasena's patron, being a Hindu king, must have been distinguished by unusual broad-mindedness, religious tolerance and humaneness, can be inferred from the fact that he did not only allow the Jaina Sādhū to defend his heterodox faith and philosophy, but even to attack Hindu philosophy, and mock, with bold satire, at the most sacred idea cherished by the majority of Hindu Darśanas, *viz.*, that of a personal Almighty Creator : St. 25. It seems that, like Akbar the Great, this unusual monarch found pleasure in seeing God and the world viewed from all the various stand-points which the learned disputants of his assemblies must have severally represented and defended with eloquent ardour.

(25) At the time of the composition of the poem, the king seems to have been looking back on a long reign of peace and prosperity, following his victorious campaigns, and, consequently, he was in all probability of advanced age himself : St. 5, 20, 26, 27.

(26) His personality and achievements were high above the ordinary, making him appear as a kind of super-man, glorified by poetical apotheosis : St. 10, 21, 23.

When comparing these points with what is known so far re the history and personalities of the individual Gupta rulers, it seems that they could not refer to Chandragupta I, whose reign was neither distinguished by extensive campaigns and conquests in grand style,

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nor by a long and glorious peace, nor by a fame which transcended the oceans, and of whom no extraordinary personal achievements or merits are reported¹.

Skandagupta might be thought of, especially since it is he whose deeds Somadeva sings in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*² under the names of Vishamaśīla and Vikramāditya and who would appear a hero worthy of the eulogies of a Siddhasena Divākara³ ! One might believe the name of *Vishamaśīla* to be indirectly reflected in St. 12 of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā*, where the poet contrasts his patron with the other princes, characterizing the latter ironically as *bhadraśīla*. Besides, the title of Vikramāditya would well suit the tradition of the Jaina Prabandhas and *Paṭṭāvalis*, which connect Siddhasena persistently with a Vikramāditya, and would also be in conformity with St. 24 of the *Dvātriṃśikā*, if taken as an indication that Siddhasena's patron did possess a title containing a synonym for "sun". Yet Skandagupta, too, must be ruled out on account of the shortness of his reign, the deterioration of the finances of the Gupta Empire which characterized his later years, and his having no sons worthy to succeed him⁴.

Appellations like "Indra", "Mahendra", "Ma-ghavan", which Siddhasena frequently applies to his patron, as well as the word "Chandra" or its synonym "Indu", if interpreted as paranomasia, might be looked upon as references to Kumāragupta I who, a

1. Vide V. A. Smith: *The Early History of India*, 4th Edition (Oxford, 1924), Pp. 295 ff.

2. Edition of the N. S. P., *Vishamaśīla*-Lambaka.

3. Vide the glorification of this distinguished Gupta ruler by Jaya-śaṅkara Prasāda, *Skandagupta Vikramāditya*, and his remarks in the erudite "*Parīśiṣṭa*", particularly Pp. 19 ff.

4. Vide V. A. Smith, l. l., P. 328 f.

great conqueror and a ruler of many years standing, bore the title of "Mahendrāditya" and is also sometimes designated as "Chandra" on his coins. Besides, some of his coins bear the legend of "Vikramāditya", too. These arguments, however, are not sufficient to prove anything by their own strength. They are, on the contrary, invalidated by the fact that the political conditions which Siddhasena describes as having prevailed at the beginning of his patron's reign, *viz.*, the earth being troubled by incessant wars waged by numerous petty princes with one another and the prosperity of the land and the wealth of the king being unstable, do not apply to this ruler at all, who, from his ancestors, inherited a huge consolidated empire abounding in prosperity.

This latter argument obviously also excludes the later Gupta rulers, none of whom can be said to have accomplished the grand feat attributed by Siddhasena to his patron, *viz.*, of having created an empire out of a chaos of small principalities.

There is some temptation, though, to argue that perhaps Siddhasena might after all have exaggerated the deeds and merits of his patron, as is usual with authors of eulogies, and that the expression *Harir iti* might be a direct clue to the latter's name, which could easily have been "Harigupta", and refer to one of the later Guptas, known from a solitary copper coin¹ recently discussed by Āchārya Jinavijaya². The temptation lies in the fact that Āchārya Jinavijaya has tried to identify this Harigupta of the coin with a Jaināchārya Harigupta ("*Hariutta*"), who is mentioned in Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā* as one of the author's spiritual ancestors

1. Vide J. Allen: *A Catalogue of Indian Coins,—Gupta Dynasties*, P. 152.

2. *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, II, 1941, P. 212 f.

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and specified as belonging to the Gupta family and being the Guru of "*Torarāya*" of *Pavvaiya* (on the Chandrabhāgā River)¹. This Śrāvaka king Harigupta, imagined to have renounced the world later in life and become Āchārya Harigupta, has already been assimilated by recent Jama Historiography.² Still, his existence can scarcely be said to be sufficiently established, as (a) the pitcher with flowers depicted on the reverse of Harigupta's coin does not prove beyond doubt that Harigupta was a Jaina, (b) he may not have been a king at all, but something like a provincial Governor³, and (c) even if he was a Śrāvaka king, he would not be likely to be identical with the Āchārya of the *Kuvalayamālā*, as Uddyotanasūri does not say anything about the latter's having been of royal rank: a feature which he would most naturally have mentioned, had there been any such foundation for such a statement. Again, even if the Harigupta of the coin could be proved to have been a Jaina king and identical with Āchārya Harigupta, still he could not be the object of Siddhasena's eulogy, because (a) as has already been pointed out, Siddhasena obviously addresses himself to a Hindu king, and (b) in view of the religious zeal and sincerity of conviction and feeling which hide themselves behind Siddhasena's satire and in view of the learned monk's station in life, the integrity of his person and purpose, as well as his responsible and representative position in the philosophical and religious literature of his time, he cannot be presumed to have exaggerated or distorted

1. I.I., P. 84. This "*Torarāya*" is identified with the notorious *Toramāna*, who, in this way, likewise becomes a Śrāvaka.

2. The articles by Muni Nyāyavijaya and Muni Darśanavijaya in *Jaina Satya Prakāśa*, Dipotsavi Añka, Vol. 7, Pp. 7 ff., as well as Pp. 145 and 151.

3. Vide R. N. Dandekar: *The History of the Guptas*, Poona, 1941, P. 148 f.

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facts so grossly as to invent those unique deeds ascribed to his patron and thus to have falsified history to an extent unallowed even to a secular eulogist. Taking therefore Siddhasena's description as genuine *Vṛitteti-vṛitta*, his Dvātrīṃśikā cannot possibly be addressed to some obscure Harigupta of the time of the decline and fall of the Gupta Empire.

Therefore the appellation "Hari" must be understood as a mere synonym for "Indra", used in the conventional sense¹.

Thus, the choice narrows itself down to the two greatest and most renowned of the Gupta rulers: Samudragupta and Chandragupta II: both great conquerors and ingenious rulers, who, after victorious campaigns, reigned over a vast and prosperous empire for long periods of glorious peace, both eulogized for personal valour, both patrons of poetry and learning, both munificent and of generally acknowledged broad-mindedness and tolerance², and both adorned with the title of "Vikramāditya". So far as Samudragupta is concerned, this latter fact (though, of course, the epithets "Parākrama" and "Vyāghraparākrama"³, "Parākramāṅka"⁴ and "Vikramāṅka"⁵ were known before as

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1. The word "Hari" is found to be used in this very same sense by the author of the Vaṇnagar Fort Prasasti, in which King Kumārāpāla of Gujarat is described as "Harir iti jñātaḥ prabhāvāj jane". vide Muni Darśanaviṇaya's article in *Jama Satya Prakāśa*, 11, P. 159, Note.
 2. For Samudragupta, vide the Allahabad and Eran Pillar Inscriptions (Sircar, 1.1.; Pp. 254 ff.), for Chandragupta the Mathurā, Udayagiri and Meharauli Inscriptions (1.1, Pp. 269 ff.), and for both V. A. Smith (1.1., Pp. 297 ff.), R.S. Tripathi, *Religious Toleration under the Imperial Guptas* (I. H. Q., XV, Pp. 1 ff.), and R. N. Dandekar, 1.1, Pp. 44 ff.
 3. On coins: vide Ojha, 1.1., Pp. 158 ff.
 4. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, 1.1, P. 156, Para 17.
 5. Vide the colophon of the preserved part of Samudragupta's *Krishna-charita*, as per the notice of "S. R. S." in *Indian Culture*, Vol. X P. 78 f.

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applied to him) was ingeniously inferred by V. A. Smith long ago, but has actually been established only recently by the discovery of a coin of this ruler at Bamnālā in Indore State bearing this very legend¹. It is obvious that this discovery will necessitate a re-examination of the literary references to "Vikramāditya", a number of which might now have to be apportioned to the brilliant and accomplished Samudragupta, thus detracting from the glory of his son !

To decide whether either of these two rulers could have been addressed by Siddhasena Divākara, the following will have to be considered:

(1) According to recent researches², Samudragupta's empire was shaken by insurrections on the latter's death. On that occasion certain tribes, hitherto allied (Khaṣas or Śakas : it is still disputed), started to menace the northern borders. Samudragupta's immediate successor, Rāmagupta, cowardly tried to purchase peace from them by surrendering his queen Dhruvadevi. Rāmagupta's brother Chandragupta, however, saved both queen and empire by a bold coup and took the reins of affairs in his own hand, becoming himself emperor and Dhruvadevi's husband. Even if the historical truth of these events, which have been inferred from

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1. Vide V. A. Smith, l. l., P. 347, as well as the notice of D. B. Diskalkar in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol V, Part II, P 136 f., for which reference I am indebted to Mr. S L Katre, my colleague at the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.
 2. A. S. Altekar, *A New Gupta King* (JBORS, XIV, Pp. 223 ff. and XV, P. 134); D. R. Bhandarkar, *New Light on the Early Gupta History* (*Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, Pp. 189 ff.); K P Jayaswal, *Chandra Gupta II and his Predecessors* (JBORS, XVIII, Pp. 17 ff.); V. V. Mirashi, *Further Light on Rāmagupta* (I A. (1933), Pp. 201 ff.); N. N. Das Gupta, *Rāma Gupta* (*Indian Culture*, IV (1937), Pp. 216 ff.); Jagan Nath, *Some Observations on the Reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya* (NIA, II (1940), Pp. 685 ff.).

later literature, might be questioned, in any case it is certain from epigraphic evidence that Chandragupta II did subdue a number of enemies and strengthened and enlarged the empire taken over by him.

And “there’s the rub”: for the very fact that he actually did take over an empire, no matter how and in what condition, would not allow the following passage of the *Guṇavachanadvātrimśikā* to be applied to him :

एकेयं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
वस्त्यान्योन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशीला नृपाः ।
ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन साद्य भवतैवात्माङ्कमारोपिता
शेषैस्त्वत्परितोषभावितगुणैर्गोपालवत्पाल्यते ॥१२॥

This stanza clearly suggests that at the beginning of the reign of the patron there was no consolidated empire, nor had there been one before, that numerous small rival principalities, constantly at war with one another, occupied its place, and that it was he who created the empire by their unification.

Still more explicit is the following passage :

यदा तावद् गर्भे त्वमथ सकलश्रीर्वसुमती
किमीया.....॥२२॥

which makes it clear that the pre-empire stage existed even at the time of the birth of the hero. It could not therefore refer to Chandragupta, at the time of whose birth his illustrious father Samudragupta must have been in the prime of his life and his glorious career of conquest in full progress, heralding, even at that stage, the fact that the earth “belonged” to him.

As it would, moreover, appear that Chandragupta had to fight from his very accession, not only this, but that he probably gained the throne only after successfully

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fighting the Khaṣas or Śakas, the following words, too, could not be applied to him :

.....क्षितिर्विषमतया चञ्चला श्रीर्यथासीत् ।

सैवान्यप्रीतिदानात्तव भुजबलान्तःपुरप्राप्तमाना—

मुर्वी दृष्ट्वा यथावत्सलघु सुचरिता हारसह्यं करोति ॥१९॥

For they state that in the beginning, when the hero was indifferent towards the Earth, *i. e.*, before he started on his campaigns of conquest, his prosperity was unstable. This could certainly not be said with regard to the heir to the proverbial wealth accumulated by Samudragupta during his many successful wars.

All these passages, however, excellently suit Samudragupta himself, who having inherited a small kingdom of limited resources developed it into the glorious Gupta Empire with its vast extension and fabulous wealth, and this by his own initiative and genius.

(2) Besides, notwithstanding Chandragupta II's achievements in war and peace, this prince does not seem to lend himself well as an object to the unrestrained praise and actual admiration of an austere and stern person like a Jaina Sādhū, and this not an ordinary Jaina Sādhū to boot, but an eminent and representative champion of truth like Siddhasena Divākara. For Chandragupta II, though he had saved the empire from threatening disintegration and earned praise for this deed¹, also met with disapproval re the moral aspect of his actions and acquired an odious reputation, which survived, side by side with his fame, for many

1. Vide Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, the stanza quoted by Jagan Nath, I.I., P. 689, Note 13; further references can be found in Pt. Bhagvad-datta's *Bhāratavarsha kṛt Itihāsa—Ādhyuga se Guptasāmrajya ke anta tak*, Lahore, 1940.

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centuries. Thus in the Cambay and Sāngli Plates¹, his name finds itself quoted, to show off, by the contrast of his evil example, the merits of some later ruler. He is, in undisguised terms, accused of "cruelty towards his elder brother, adultery committed with his brother's wife and other evil deeds". The Sanjan Copper-Plates Grant² carries the accusations against him even further, by directly inculcating him with having murdered his brother, usurped throne and queen and acquired a false reputation for liberality by fraudulent transactions of enormous extent (literally: by causing "crores" to be written instead of "lakhs").

A reflection of this stain on Chandragupta's character may perhaps be seen in the fact that contemporaneous records, so far as available to-day, never praise this ruler for moral qualities, except that his Foreign Minister Virasena, who accompanied him on a campaign and, *en route*, dedicated a cave to Śiva, calls him, in the pertinent inscription, *Rājādhvājārshi*³. In fact, the way how, *e. g.*, in the Sānchī Stone Inscription⁴ a whole bunch of epithets denoting excellent moral qualities is attached to the *Śaṅgha*, while the king's name stands unadorned, is illustrative.

Samudragupta's records, in sharp contrast, are full of glowing testimonies to his admirable character, his great moral qualities, and his interest in serious questions of a religious or philosophical nature. Thus, Harishena praises his self-control (*praśama*)⁵ as well as the "over-

1. Jagan Nath, I. I., P. 686 This record was composed in 871 A. D.

2. I. I., P. 687. My interpretation of this stanza deviates from that of the author of the article under reference.

3. Udayagiri Cave Inscription, Sircar, I. I., P. 271.

4. Sircar, I. I., P. 273.

5. Sircar, I. I., P. 259, Para 30 and P. 256, Para 15.

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flow of the multitudes of his good qualities, adorned by hundreds of noble deeds, which sweeps the fame of other princes down to the soles of their feet (sucharitaśatālamkṛitānekagunaṇaṇotsiktibhiḥ charaṇa-talapramṛiṣṭānyanarapatikīrti¹), says that his mental serenity made him fit company for the wise (prājñānu-śaṅgochitasukhamanas²), that his heart was so soft that he could be won over by mere devotion and submission, and that he was full of mercy ('bhaktya-vanatimātragrāhyamṛiduhṛidaya' and 'anukampāvat'³), that he was so just as to be a cause of rise for the good and of ruin for the wicked (sādhvasādhūdayapralaya-hetu⁴), that his mind was continuously engaged in the uplift of the miserable, the poor, the unprotected and the afflicted (kṛipānadīnānāthāturaṇanoddharaṇamantra-dīkṣhābhyupagatamanas⁵), that many a wonderful selfless action done by him deserved to be praised for a long time (suchirastotavyānekādbhutodāracharita⁶), and that he was "a flaming embodiment of the spirit of public good (samiddhasya vigrahavato lokānugrahasya⁷)". He also calls him the building of the wall of religion (dharmaprācīrabandha⁸), a master of the true meanings of the scriptures (śāstratattvārthabhartrī⁹), praises his learning which pierces the essential nature of things (vaidushyam tattvabhedi¹⁰) and refers to him as the only

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1. I.I., P. 258, Para 25.
 2. I.I., P. 255, Para 5.
 3. I.I., P. 259, Para 25.
 4. I.I.
 5. I.I., P. 259, Para 26.
 6. I.I., Para 27.
 7. I.I., Para 26 : the translation of this passage is as given by D. B. Diskalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Part II, P. 47.
 8. I.I., P. 256, Para 15.
 9. I.I., P. 255, Para 5.
 10. I.I., P. 256, Para 15.

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object worthy of the contemplation of those who know to appreciate excellent qualities and discernment (guṇamatividushām dhyānapātram ya ekaḥ¹).

Thus there can be no doubt that in view of the moral qualities, too, which the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā* refers to, Samudragupta is a suitable object of Siddhasena's eulogy.

(3) The impression that the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā* might be addressed to Samudragupta is further strengthened by the fact that in other respects, too, Harishena's Praśasti, supplemented by the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, ascribes to Samudragupta, with most striking concurrence, exactly the same characteristic features and deeds as Siddhasena praises in his patron, such as :

- (a) Descent from dynasty of kings²,=Point 1 (supra).
- (b) Numerous principalities existing³,=Point 3.
- (c) Victorious campaigns led against the latter,⁴=Point 4.
- (d) Defeated princes become vassals, their lands being restored to them⁵,=Point 5.
- (e) Alliances by diplomatic transactions with neighbours, some of them kings⁶,=Point 6.
- (f) Creation of consolidated empire⁷,=Point 7.

1. I.L., P. 256, Para 16

2. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, I L., P. 259, Para 28f., as well as following records.

3. I.L., throughout.

4. Do.

5. I.L., P. 258, Para 23 and P. 259, Para 26.

6. I.L., P. 258, Para 23 f.

7. I.L., throughout.

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- (g) Strict rule¹,=Point 8.
- (h) Great prosperity²,=Point 10.
- (i) Fame transgressing the oceans³,=Point 12.
- (j) Love for learning and philosophy⁴,=Point 13.
- (k) Having sons⁵,=Point 14.
- (l) His excellent qualities, surpassing those of all other rulers, are the cause of his fame⁶,=Point 15.
- (m) Sagacity⁷,=Point 16.
- (n) Liberality⁸,=Point 17.
- (o) Skill at arms and valour⁹,=Point 19.
- (p) Outspoken kindness of heart¹⁰,=Point 20.
- (q) Profound erudition¹¹,=Point 21.
- (r) Being a Hindu¹²,=Point 23.
- (s) Super-man¹³,=Point 26.

If Harishena (leaving aside the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, as it is anyhow incomplete) does not mention the period of continued peace and prosperity to which

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- 1. I. I., P. 258, Para 22 f ; P. 162, Para 24.
 - 2. I. I., P. 259, Para 26, and following records
 - 3. I. I., P. 258, Para 24 (vide also P. 258, Para 25, P. 259, Para 30 and P. 261, Para 22).
 - 4. I. I., P. 255, Para 5 f.; P. 256, Paras 15 ff., P. 259, Para 26, etc.
 - 5. Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, I. I., P. 161, Para 19.
 - 6. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, I. I., P. 258, Para 25, also P. 161, Para 21 f.
 - 7. I. I., P. 259, Para 27.
 - 8. I. I., P. 259, Paras 25 and 26.
 - 9. I. I., P. 256, Paras 11, 13 17, 18; P. 259, Paras 26 and 30 (Stanza 9); and P. 261, Paras 13, 16 and 23.
 - 10. I. I., P. 258 f., Paras 25 and 26
 - 11. I. I., P. 255, Para 5 f ; P. 256, Para 15, P. 259, Para 27
 - 12. I. I., throughout.
 - 13. I. I., P. 255, Para 9; P. 256, Para 16; P. 258, Paras 24 and 25; P. 259, Para 28.

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Siddhasena so emphatically refers, this may be due to the fact that Harishena's Praśasti was probably composed at a time when Samudragupta's campaigns either had just come to an end or were still in progress (an assumption which is also corroborated by the much commented-upon absence of any allusion therein to the Aśvamedha performed by that ruler). Siddhasena, on the other hand, appears to have written his Dvātrīṃśikā towards the end of the reign of that Emperor, as already suggested. (For him, as a Jaina Sādhū, the absence of any allusion to the Aśvamedha is only natural.)

The beautiful characterization of Samudragupta as "a lord, super-man, severe, ever vigilant, mindful about himself", found in the Buddhist *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*¹, likewise covers a number of the characteristics of Siddhasena's patron².

(4) It may be argued that the above considerations are of too general a nature to allow of the definite conclusion that none but Samudragupta can be the object of the *Guṇavachanadvātrīṃśikā*. To meet this objection, an additional argument can be adduced in support of that proposition. This is the fact that Siddhasena's poem seems to be interwoven with allusions to contemporaneous events and persons, disguised by paranomasia, and therefore difficult to recognize for a reader remote in time and circumstances, but probably easily understood and readily enjoyed by the circle in which the poet moved.

It has already been seen that the poem is full of *double entendre* and that many of its words are iridescent

1. R. N. Dandekar: *A History of the Guptas*, P 67

2. An idea of Samudragupta's personality can be formed from a perusal of Radha Kumud Mookerji's note *Character of Samudragupta from his Inscription and Coins in Indian Culture*, Vol IX, Pp. 177 ff

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with variegated meanings, challenging the reader's imagination to follow the poet into the intricacies of his fancy. When he, *e. g.*, uses the word "guṇa", he often leaves it to the reader to find out whether "virtues" are referred to, or the "attributes" of Logic, or both; or when he calls his hero's Fame "aprameya" (St. 6), he keeps him wondering whether this adjective is used in the conventional sense of "immeasurable", or the special one of "not to be proved" which it has as a logical term, or both; or when he speaks of the king's "naya", it may be simply "maxims", or the "stand-points" of Jaina Logic, or more likely both.

When proper nouns are concerned, the decision is even more difficult, as there is the danger of hitting beyond the mark and inferring meanings of which the poet never thought! How is, for instance, the modern reader to decide whether or not the word "Satyabhāmā" (St. 9) is meant to imply an allusion to the Empress Dattadevi, whose portrait appears on some of Samudragupta's coins, alternating with that of Śrī-Lakṣmī whose co-wife she can be called with fullest justification?¹

How to decide whether or not the expression "Ādyapurusha" (St. 23), which may refer either to Viṣṇu or to the first Tīrthaṅkara Rishabhanātha, simultaneously also implies an allusion to the "Ādirāja" of certain Gupta records, *i. e.*, to Ghaṭotkacha, the "Ancestor" of the Gupta Emperors?²

It is still more uncertain whether or not King Hastivarman of Veṅgi, or perhaps Vyāghrarāja of Mahā-

1. Possibly it is an allusion to some passage of Samudragupta's *Kṛishṇa-charita*, the pertinent part of which is not available: vide *supra*.

2. Vide the Poona and Rithpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of Prabhāvatī Guptā, Sircar, I.I., Pp. 412 and 415.

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kāntāra whom Samudragupta defeated¹, or both, are in Siddhasena's mind, when he speaks of those "bhuja-parighaparispandadṛiptair narendraiḥ..... mṛigapatipatibhiḥ", contrasting their policy of barbaric destruction with his patron's wise practice of restitution and reconciliation (St. 14)!

Nor would it be safe to say that Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī hides himself behind the expression "gopālavat" (St. 12), used with such broad irony that this defeated adversary of Samudragupta's cannot escape from being recalled by the reader².

The same holds good for Maheśvara and Achyuta (St. 27), names which forcibly must have reminded the contemporary reader of Rudradeva and Achyuta, those two kings of Āryāvarta who, according to Harishena,³ were eradicated by Samudragupta: Achyuta being mentioned by the former even twice, as it appears that he was defeated by the Emperor's own arm in personal combat!

It cannot, however, be denied that the *Guṇavachanadvātrimśikā* contains at least one clear and unambiguous reference to Samudragupta's history, viz., the words "lālanīyā tvadājñā Mahendrādīnām yadguṇa-paritulanādurvintā guṇās te" (St. 7). Obviously this passage would not be creditable to Siddhasena's poetic genius, were the word "Mahendra" merely to be taken in its conventional sense of "Indra-like ruler", as this meaning would be neutralized by the following "ādi" and thus become pointless and poetically insipid. It is therefore necessary to understand it as a proper name, in

1. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, P. 256 f., Para 19 f.

2. Sircar, l. l.

3. Sircar, l. l., P. 256, Para 13 and P. 257, Para 21.

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which function it can only refer to King Mahendra of Kosala, mentioned by Harisheṇa as “Kausalakamaheन्द्रa”, the first in the group of kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha recorded to have been defeated by Samudragupta¹ during his southern campaign. Only if taken in this sense, the passage reads like true poetry, deprecatingly summing up Mahendra and those other princes as an inferior crowd, whose qualities are so negligible that Samudragupta’s Qualities, measuring themselves with them, get out of control with exultation at their own superiority! The conventional meaning of “Mahendra” is not completely lost either, as now it puts a high-light of irony on the whole expression.

If it is admitted that all this evidence allows of the conclusion that Siddhasena did address his *Guṇa-vachanadvātriṃśikā* to Samudragupta, it is a question of minor importance whether or not the word “Chandra” or its synonyms occurring therein are meant to be taken as references to Prince Chandragupta, the later Emperor Chandragupta II. If, as has already been hinted at, the poem was written during the last years of Samudragupta’s reign, Kumāra Chandragupta must then have been in the prime of his life, and his proverbial valour must have made him conspicuous even then in the military enterprises of his illustrious father. On the other hand, it is not improbable that they may refer to Samudragupta himself, who, according to V. A. Smith², “in his youth must have borne the titles of both Chandraprakāśa (—prabhāva) and Bālāditya or Parāditya.”

Just as doubtful it is whether the comparison of the hero’s splendour with that of the sun (St. 24) is

1. Sircar, P. 256, Para 19.

2. I. I., P. 347.

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meant to imply an allusion to the title of Vikramāditya.

8. CONCLUSION

From the whole atmosphere which the *Guṇavachana-dvātrīṃśikā*, supplemented by epigraphical records, depicts as surrounding the poet and his illustrious patron, one cannot help inferring that the above referred-to episodes which the Prabandhas and Kathānakas have handed down re Siddhasena and Vikrama do reflect a good amount of historical truth, with Siddhasena's "disciple" Vikrama safely identified as Samudragupta !

Thus the boldness, the profound erudition and independence of mental outlook which Siddhasena displays in his poem make it easy to understand how he could make to his co-religionists the unheard-of proposal to translate the Jaina Canon into Sanskrit, the honoured language of the Gupta Court, whose Golden Age was led in by his patron Samudragupta, known to have been a Sanskrit poet himself. On the other hand, the zeal for his religion which he betrays makes one understand how, excommunicated by way of expiation for this "offence", he made good by serving his beloved religion in his own way, *viz.*, by enlisting the interest of the greatest of the Gupta rulers for the Jaina Faith to such an extent that the Emperor, again true to the picture which both Siddhasena and Harishena have given of his fairness, great-heartedness and generosity, restituted to the Jainas the Kudāṅgeśvara Temple, which had formerly been a Jaina temple¹, allowed them to erect Tīrthaṅkara temples where they pleased, and accorded substantial grants and other concessions to places of Jaina worship. And who knows to what extent that

1. Vide my article quoted above.

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great monarch, merciful and philosophically inclined as he was, may have not been attracted by Jaina doctrines, for whom a more eloquent and enthusiastic exponent than Siddhasena can scarcely be imagined !

That other well-known episode of the "Four Ślokas" referred to above, representing poet and patron as bandying Sanskrit verses *à la impromptu*, likewise fits in well with the characteristics of both, supplied by the Dvātriṃśikā and epigraphical records.

The story, too, that Siddhasena temporarily became somewhat lax in his habits, dazzled by court-life and royal favour, and had to be brought back to the fold of rigid monastic discipline by his old Guru¹, may be a reflection of the honours which the poet must have enjoyed at the court of his patron, though, it is true, the Prabandhas do not connect this episode with Vikrama's name.

It is not unlikely either that Siddhasena, as the *Prabhāvakacharita* (l. 1., P. 60, St. 164 ff.) relates, did visit King Dhanañjaya of Broach, if this king could be proved to be identical with King Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura, who, according to Harisheṇa, was defeated by Samudragupta in the course of his southern campaign. This would, however, presuppose Kusthalapura, a mysterious name to epigraphists as yet, to be identical with Broach, and the latter to be counted as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha : assertions which, however, it is not intended to advocate here.

If thus all the above observations combine in proclaiming that Siddhasena Divākara flourished during the reign of Samudragupta, and that most likely during

1. Vide *Prabhāvakacharita*, l. 1., P. 56, St. 74 ff.; *Prabandhaśoṣa*, l. 1., P. 17, Para 25; *Samyaktvasaṃskṛtikā-vṛtti*, l. 1.; *Upadeśapṛasāda*, l. 1.

his later years, it can moreover be concluded that he must have lived down into the reign of Chandragupta II. For though Samudragupta, as has been pointed out before, is now included in the number of those rulers who bore the appellation of Vikramāditya, and though, therefore, it is yet to be decided which of the literary references to Vikramāditya, ascribed to Chandragupta, actually point to that ruler, and which to his brilliant father, still the fame of the "Śakāri" will probably remain on the shoulders of Chandragupta II. Therefore the nine gems, too, would remain connected with the latter, and it would appear that Siddhasena, though he addressed the *Guṇavachanadvātrimśikā* to Samudragupta, was also conspicuous at the court of Chandragupta II as the Kshapaṇaka-Śrutasena mentioned in the *Jyotiṛ-vidābharaṇa*. Later on, legend obviously mixed up the several features of the two Gupta "Vikramādityas", welding them into the figure of one single monarch, who, from a tolerant and philosophically inclined ruler, who favoured and patronized the famous Jaina logician and probably liked to hear Jaina Philosophy expounded along with the Six Hindu Darśanas, gradually became a Śrāvaka King in the light of Jaina Tradition.

Not only thus much, but this king seems gradually also to have become invested with the title of "Saṃvatsara-pravartaka", being made responsible for the introduction of the "Vikrama-Saṃvat". This presupposed the feat of projecting this "Vikramāditya", and with him his "Guru", back by several centuries, so as to enable their existence in 56 B. C., which (vide the second chapter of this paper) the Prabandhas and Paṭṭāvalis report, fusing this already synthetic "Vikramāditya" with the assumed mysterious prototype of all the numerous "Vikramādityas", "Śakāris" and

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“Saṁvatsara-pravartakas” of the ensuing ages, *viz.*, the genuine founder of the “Vikrama-Saṁvat”, thus leaving philologists and historians, in Siddhasena’s words, *param vyāmsitāḥ* !

And yet, who can say whether Siddhasena’s patron Samudragupta was not indeed a ‘Saṁvatsara-pravartaka’, only not with regard to the “Vikrama Era,” but to the much discussed “Gupta Era” ? Referring to the Nālandā and Gayā Copper-plates of Samudragupta, D. C. Sircar says: “If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, *infra*, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta Era began from the 1st year of this king”². As R. C. Majumdar has recently shown³ that these charters are indeed most probably exact copies of spoilt originals, this latter assumption would be a fact. Therefore Stanza 27 of the *Guṇadvachanadvātriṁśikā* might be taken as a most significant reflection of this important historical event !

In this paper, it has been attempted to disentangle, out of the jumble of the three heterogeneous “Vikramādityas” which the tradition of the Jainas presents, at least those two bearers of that title who functioned as the patrons of Siddhasena Divākara. It seems a thankless task to try to say anything new re the third one, the “Vikramāditya” *kat’ exochen*, on the basis of the

1. Vide V. A. Smith, I.I., P. 296, as well as later theories sponsored by S. K. Dikshit in *Indian Culture*, VI (1940), Pp. 191 ff., Dharendra Nath Mookerji in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* of 1945, P. 96, and M. V. Kibe in *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I (1944), Pp. 417 ff.

2. I. I., P. 263, Note.

3. *The Gayā and Nālandā Plates of Samudragupta* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, Pp. 225 ff.).

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expedients available so far, since, after deducting these two Gupta Vikramādityas, it is only a dreary skeleton what remains of the much discussed "Vikramāditya" of the Jainas, alleged contemporary of Kālakāchārya and dislodger of the "Sāhāpusāhis" whom the latter Āchārya had piloted to Gardabhilla's capital Ujjayinī from far-off "Śakakula"¹: it is not much more than a name, which, though sanctified by a hoary tradition, no scholarly acumen has been able to bring to life up-to this day! It is just possible that excavations undertaken on the site of ancient Ujjayinī may some day perform the miracle: yet who would *a priori* guarantee even their success?²

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1. Vide W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Series, Washington, 1933, Pp. 3 ff. and P. 56, Note 10.
 2. I am sorry to state that MS No. 119 of Muniraj Shri Kantivijayaji's Bhandar at Chhani, which, according to the *Jīnaratnakōśa*, s. v. "Dvātriṃśad-dvātriṃśikā No. I", promises to contain a commentary to the whole of Siddhasena Divākara's *Dvātriṃśad-dvātriṃśikā* by Udayasāgara, contains in reality only a Tīkā to the 21st (or "Vardhamāna—") *Dvātriṃśikā*, as I was informed on my request for the loan of this MS.—It is therefore a fact that so far no commentary to Siddhasena's remaining 20 *Dvātriṃśikās*, including the *Guṇavachanadvātriṃśikā*, is known to exist.

AVANTĪ IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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The Avantīs were one of the most powerful of the Kshatriya clans in ancient India. They occupied the territory which lay north of the Vindhya mountains. They were one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose and were later absorbed into the Moriyān empire¹. They were an ancient people as the *Mahābhārata* points out. Their dual monarchs, Vinda and Anuvinda, led Duryodhana's army in the battle of Kurukshetra and really speaking the Avantīs made up one-fifth of the entire Kuru host². They were great warriors accomplished in battles, of firm strength and prowess, and were two of the best chariot-warriors. They used to fight with maces, bearded darts, swords and long spears³. They figured very prominently in the course of the whole war and performed many glorious and heroic deeds. They rendered great and useful service to the Kaurava cause both by their individual prowess and generalship, as well as by the numerous army consisting of forces of all descriptions that they

1. *Psalm of the Brethren*, P. 107, N.1.

2. *Mbh.*, V. 19. 24.

3. *Ibid.*, V. 156.

led to battle. They supported Bhīshma in the early stage of the battle¹. They led an attack against the mighty Arjuna². They fought very bravely with the mighty Irāvata, son of Arjuna. They attacked Dhrishṭadyumna, the Generalissimo of the Pāṇḍavas. They surrounded Arjuna and fought Bhīmasena.³ Thus they fought bravely in the field until they laid down their lives at the hands of Arjuna according to some⁴ or at the hands of Bhīma according to others⁵.

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Ch. 43) the Avantī originated from the Haihaya dynasty⁶ of which Kārttavīryārjuna was the most glorious ruler. There were marital relations between the royal families of the Avantīs and the ruling dynasty of the Yadus. Rājyādhidevī, a Yadu princess, was married to the king of Avantī⁷. She gave birth to two sons, Vinda and Upavinda, who are most probably to be identified with the heroic Avantī princes, Vinda and Anuvinda, whose mighty deeds in the Kurukshetra battle are recorded in the *Mahābhārata*⁸.

The celebrated grammarian Pāṇini refers to Avantī in one of his sūtras (IV. 1. 176).

It is interesting to note that the country of Avantī much of which is rich land had been colonised or conquered by Āryan tribes who came down the Indus Valley and turned east from the Gulf of Kutch. It was called Avantī as late as the second century A. D.

1. *Ibid.*, VI. 16; II. 17, etc.

2. *Ibid.*, VI. 59.

3. *Ibid.*, VI. 102 and 113.

4. *Ibid.*, VII. 99.

5. *Ibid.*, XI. 22.

6. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Pp 102, 267.

7. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, IV. 12; *Agni-Purāṇa*, Ch 275.

8. *Ibid.*, IV. 14.

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as we find in Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgarh, but from the 7th or 8th century onwards it was called Mālava¹.

Avantī was one of the most flourishing kingdoms of ancient India and one of the sixteen great territories (mahājanapadas) of the Jambudīpa. The country produced abundance of food and the people were wealthy and prosperous². It was here that the Pāli language in which the books of the Hīnayāna Buddhists have been written was, according to some, probably a mixed form of speech and it was elaborated in Avantī or Gandhāra³.

Avantī was a great centre of Buddhism. Several of the most earnest and zealous adherents of the Dhamma either were born or resided here, *e. g.*, Abhayakumāra⁴, Isidāsi⁵, Isidatta⁶, Dhammapāla⁷, Soṇakuṭṭikaṇṇa⁸, and especially Mahākachchāyana⁹.

Mahākachchāyana was born at Ujjayinī in the family of the chaplain (purohita) of King Chanḍa Pajjota. He learnt the three Vedas and after his father's death he succeeded him to the chaplainship. He went to the Buddha who taught him the Norm with such effect that, at the end of the lesson, he with his attendants was established in arhantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. It was through

1 *Buddhist India*, P. 28.

2 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 252, 256, 261.

3 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 282.

4 *Theragāthā Comm.* 39.

5 *Therigāthā Comm.* 261-4

6 *Theragāthā*, 120.

7 *Ibid.*, 204.

8 *Ibid.*, 369, *Uddāna*, v. 6.

9 *Saṅgutta Nikāya*, III, P. 9, IV, 117, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 23; V, 46; *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 94, 223.

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his effort that he succeeded in establishing Pajjota in the faith¹. Mahākachchāyana himself being a native of Avantī worked with zeal for the diffusion of the new faith amongst his countrymen. The great success of his missionary activity in his native province is somewhat explained by the fact of his initial success in converting the ruler of the country, Chaṇḍa Pajjota. He while dwelling at Avantī so successfully explained in detail the meaning of a stanza mainly dealing with *Kasiṇas* to an upāsikā named Kālī that she was very much satisfied with his explanation. He also explained to a householder of Avantī named Haliddikāni a stanza dealing with the question of *vedanā, rūpa, saññā and viññāna dhātus* and *saṃkhāra*, and the householder was very much satisfied. The same devout and inquisitive householder again approached him for the elucidation of some of the knotty points of the Buddhist doctrine and he made them clear to him. Mahākachchāyana used to be present whenever any sermon was delivered by the Buddha on Dhamma. Therefore the bhikkhus used to keep a seat for him³. It is, therefore, clear that the followers of Buddhism in the western province of Avantī must have been very numerous and influential at the same time, showing that under the energetic ministration of the Thera Mahākachchāyana the new doctrine of peace and emancipation had spread far and wide over the province.

Mahāvīra, the great propounder of the Jaina faith, is said to have performed some of his penances in the country of Avantī. The capital of Avantī, Ujjayinī,

1. *Psalm of the Brethren*, 238-9.

2. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, IV, Pp 115-16

3. *Dhammapada Commentary*, II, Pp. 176-77.

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was also visited by him where he did penance in a cemetery when Rudra and his wife tried in vain to interrupt him¹.

One of the sacred places of the Liṅgāyat sect is situated in Avantī at Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) which is frequently visited by the Liṅgāyat itinerant ascetics².

The Pradyotas were kings of Avantī. King Chanḍa Pajjota (Chanḍa Pradyota) was a contemporary of the Buddha. In Buddha's time the king of Madhurā was styled Avantiputta showing that on his mother's side he was connected with the royal family of Ujjayinī³. Ujjayinī played an important part in the political history of India. Under the Pradyotas, it rose to a very high position and its power and prowess were feared even by the great emperors of Magadha. Ajātaśatru fortified his capital Rājagṛiha in expectation of an attack about to be made by King Pajjota of Ujjenī. A matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Avāntī. Pajjota, king of Avantī, grew angry and was determined to attack Udena, king of Kosambī, knowing that he (Udena) surpassed him in glory. Pajjota got an elephant made of wood and concealed in it sixty warriors. Knowing that Udena had a special liking for fine elephants, Pajjota had informed him by spies that a matchless and glorious elephant could be found in the frontier forest. Udena came to the forest and, in the pursuit of the prize, he became separated from his retinue and was made captive. While a captive he fell in love with Vāsula-dattā, King Pajjota's daughter. Taking advantage of Pajjota's absence from his kingdom, he fled from his

1. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, P. 33.

2. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 227.

3. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, P. 53.

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kingdom with Vāsuladattā. Udena managed to reach his kingdom taking Vāsuladattā with him. He made her his queen¹. In the 4th century B. C. Ujjenī became subject to Magadha. Asoka, Chandragupta's grandson, was stationed at Ujjain as viceroy of the Avantī country². Vikramāditya, the celebrated king of Ujjain, expelled the Scythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India. He restored the Hindu monarchy to its ancient splendour³. In later times some of the ruling families of Avantī made mark in Indian history. Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty dethroned Indrāyudha and installed in his place Chakrāyudha with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers of the Avantīs, the Bhojas and the Yavanas⁴. The Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (anciently known as Avantī) was founded by Upendra or Kṛishṇarāja early in the 9th century. Muñja who was famous for his learning and eloquence was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no mean reputation. Muñja's nephew, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhārā which was in those days the capital of Malwa and ruled gloriously for more than forty years. Until the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa lasted as a purely local power. In this century this dynasty was superseded by chiefs of the Tomara clan who were followed in their turn by the Chauhan kings from whom the crown passed to the Moslem kings in 1401 A. D.

Avantī became a great commercial centre. Here met the three routes, from the western coast with its sea-ports Surpāraka (Sopārā) and Bhṛigukachchha

1. Cf. *Buddhist India*, Pp. 4-7, and Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*,

2. Smith, *Asoka*, P. 235.

3. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, Pp. 154-55.

4. Smith, *Early History of India*, P. 398.

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(Broach), from the Deccan and from Śrāvastī in Kośala (Oudh). The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Sec. 48) points out that from Ozene (Ujjain) was brought down to Barygaza commodities for local consumption or export to other parts of India, *e. g.*, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cotton, etc.

Avantī was also a great centre of learning. The Hindu astronomers reckoned their first meridian of longitude from Ujjayinī and the dramas of Kālidāsa were performed on the occasion of the Spring Festival before its Viceregal Court, *c.* 400 A. D.¹ Nine famous persons known as *Nava-Ratna* (nine gems) adorned the court of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī.

Ujjayinī, the capital of Avantī which is situated on the Śiprā, a tributary of the Charmanvatī (Chambal), is the modern Ujjain in Gwalior in Central India. It was built by Achchutagāmī². According to the *Āvantya-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (Chap. 43), the great god Mahādeva after destroying the great demon called Tripura visited Avantipura, the capital of the Avantīs, which, in honour of the great victory obtained by the god, came to be known as Ujjayinī. This city was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, in the 7th century A. D. According to him, Ujjayinī was about 6,000 li in circuit. It was a populous city. There were several convents but they were mostly in ruins. There were many priests. The king belonged to the Brahmin caste. Not far from the city there was a stūpa³.

The coins current in Ujjain have a special mark. On some of the rare coins the word *Ujjeniya* is incised in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B. C. Generally

1. Rapson, *Ancient India*, P. 175.

2. *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), P. 57.

3. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 270.

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on one side is found a man with a symbol of the sun and on the other is seen the sign of Ujjain. On some coins, a bull within a fence or the Bodhi tree or the Sumeru hill or the figure of the Goddess of Fortune is seen on one side. Some coins of Ujjain are quadrangular while others are round¹. Square copper Moghul coins were struck in this city upto the time of Shāh Jāhān I². The class of round coins found at Ujjain display a special symbol, the 'cross and balls' known as the Ujjain symbol³.

1. R. D. Banerjee, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, P. 108.

2. Brown, *Coins of India*, P. 87.

3. *Ibid.*, P. 20.

KING VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA SAMVAT

By

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The era known today as Vikrama Samvat and traditionally associated with King Vikramāditya has just completed two thousand years. It is, therefore, a fit occasion for discussing its origin and the historical character of the great king after whom it is named.

The problem has engaged the attention of Indologists for a long time and wild views were entertained on the subject even by reputed scholars. A typical example of extreme scepticism is furnished by Fergusson. He held that a king Vikramāditya defeated the Hūnas in the battle of Kahrur in 544 A. D., and the era was started from that year to celebrate that victory; but in order to give the era an antiquated appearance, the Brāhmaṇas antedated it by 600 years or 10 complete sixty-year cycles.

This theory was adumbrated in 1880. Archaeological discoveries, since made, have proved beyond dispute that the era was in actual use long before 544 A. D., and no one now doubts that the era was actually started in 57 B. C. But the old view that there was no king called Vikramāditya in the first century B. C., and

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the era of 57 B. C. had nothing to do with any such king, still holds the ground.¹ I propose therefore to deal separately with the two following questions:—

1. Was there a king Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. ?

2. If so, was the era of 57 B. C. founded by him ?

1 KING VIKRAMĀDITYA

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, writing in 1900,² observed : "The tradition about a Vikramāditya, who was Śākāri or enemy of the Śakas and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Chandragupta II of all the princes who flourished before him and after and whose names have come down to us." The statement, which forms the basis of the views now almost universally accepted, conveys the impression that there is only a vague tradition or general statement that Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas, and hence any king with that name or title, who is known to have defeated the

1 In a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1912 I argued in favour of the old traditional view. A Bengali translation of the portion relating to Vikramāditya and the Vikrama era was published in a Bengali journal *Pratibhā* in 1913. Since then MM. H. P. Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, P. 319) and Sten Konow (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, P. 294) have incidentally supported the old tradition, but without any detailed discussion. The present paper is mainly based on my thesis of 1912, with notice of additional facts and arguments since published.

With the exception of the two scholars mentioned above, almost all are definitely of opinion that there was no King Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. Dr Fleet, for example, remarks : "Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya and that that story (of his founding an era in 57 B. C.) is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D. (*JRAS*, 1913, P. 997) Other writers, following him, have held that "it has been established that there was no Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C." (*IHQ*, Vol. XI, P. 212).

2. *JBRAS*, Vol. XX, P. 398.

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA SAMVAT

Śakas, may be taken as the historical Vikramāditya round whom the traditions had grown up. In fact, however, the tradition is a long and complete story about King Vikramāditya, and it is necessary to state it at some length and discuss its historical character before formulating any opinion on his identification with any historical king.

The traditions about Vikramāditya fall into two distinct classes. The one comprises mere legends describing the supernatural powers and eminent qualities of his head and heart such as are found in *Vetālapañchaviṃśati* and *Dvātriṃśatputtalikā*. These have no historical value beyond proving that Vikramāditya was regarded as an ideal king long after his death. The other includes historical traditions which are contained partly in standard works of Jaina literature and partly in narratives connected with the history of Jaina religion. I shall take Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* as a type of the first and Kālakāchārya's narrative as an example of the other.

Merutuṅga is a Jaina scholar of the 14th century. His work is written in the form of comments on some of the old *gāthās* containing historical and chronological data. The work is composed in Sanskrit, but Merutuṅga generally quotes *gāthās* or verses in modified *Māgadhī* as authority for his dates and statements, and explains them in Sanskrit prose. The substance of his historical and chronological informations regarding the kingdom of Mālava may be stated as follows:—

“Chandra Pradyota, king of Avanti, died on the same night as Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra. His son Pālaka reigned for 60 years. At that time the Nandas succeeded to the supreme power at Pāṭaliputra, and Ujjayini

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Pp. 147 ff.

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fell into their hands. Nine Nandas following one another in succession reigned for 155 years. Then the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas Pushpamitra ruled for 30 years. Then came Balamitra and Bhānumitra whose joint reign covered 60 years, and Nabhovāhana who ruled for 40 years. Then came the Gardabhilla dynasty which was in power for 152 years. Gardabhilla reigned for 13 years and was then expelled by the Śaka kings who ruled for 4 years. Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained the kingdom of Ujjayinī, founded the Vikrama era and reigned for 60 years. His four successors ruled respectively for 40, 11, 14 and 10 years. Then the Śaka era commenced."

The foregoing statement may be summed up in the following chronological table :—

Mahāvīra died	..	.. 527 B. C.
Pālaka, acc.	..	.. 527 "
Nandas establish supremacy	..	.. 467 "
Mauryas establish supremacy	..	.. 312 "
Pushpamitra, acc.	..	.. 204 "
Balamitra, acc.	..	.. 174 "
Nabhovāhana, acc.	..	.. 114 "
Gardabhilla, acc.	..	.. 74 "
Gardabhilla expelled by the Śakas	61	..
Vikramāditya recovers Ujjayinī	..	57 "
Four successors of Vikramāditya	3-78	A. D.
Śaka era commences	..	.. 78 A. D.

There is nothing in this general chronological scheme which, on the face of it, appears to be absurd or even unworthy of belief. In point of details also Merutuṅga's account is in fair accordance with known historical facts. The statement that the Mauryas ruled for

VIKRAMADITYA AND VIKRAMA SAMVAT

108 years may be reconciled with the Purāṇic statement by supposing that the 30 years assigned to Pushyamitra represent the last 30 years of the nominal Maurya rule during which Pushyamitra was exercising the real authority. It is noteworthy that according to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* Pushyamitra ruled for 60 years, while the other Purāṇas give it as 36. Here also the discrepancy may be reconciled by a similar supposition. But whatever may be the case, Merutuṅga's chronological scheme must be regarded, on the whole, as transmitting an old historical tradition, which, though not acceptable in all its details without further corroborative evidence, cannot be thrown out as worthless unless contradicted by positive testimony of reliable character. It may be added that the *gāthās* containing references to Vikramāditya are also found in many other works besides Merutuṅga's *Theravāṭi*. Further, the great exploit of Vikramāditya, viz. the expulsion of the Śakas from Ujjayinī, is corroborated by the *Kālakāchāryakathā* which gives the story in fuller details. It may be summed up as follows¹:—

“Kālakāchārya had a sister called Sarasvatī who joined the convent. King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī was fascinated by her beauty and ravished her. Kālakāchārya, being enraged, went to the west of the Indus and lived with a Śāhi (Śaka) chief over whom he obtained great influence by means of his astrological knowledge. Gradually he came to learn that his patron and 95 other chiefs who lived in the same locality all obeyed a common overlord. Kālakāchārya persuaded his patron to

1. *Ibid.*, Pp. 139 ff.; Peterson : *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, P. 32, and *Extracts*, P. 26. Sten Konow discusses the story and accepts it as a genuine historical tradition (*CII*, Vol. II, Pp. xxvi ff., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, P. 294). Jayaswal also relies on the story and cites an old version of it (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, Pp. 233, 293). The Śāhi chiefs in the story are said to belong to Śagakula and their overlord is called Śāhannūśāhi.

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invade the kingdom of Gardabhilla with the aid of his 95 fellow-chiefs, and himself joined the army that marched along Sindh and Gujarat, and besieged Ujjayinī. Ujjayinī fell and the Śakas established their supremacy in Mālava. After 17 years Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained his kingdom by expelling the Śakas. Kālākāchārya, after defeating Gardabhilla and releasing his sister, went to the court of King Sātavāhana at Pratiśṭhāna."

The above story is related in various works, and *gāthās* containing the incident have also been found. In some of them we get the additional information that "135 years after Vikrama having passed, again the Śakas expelled Vikramaputra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

We have tried to present the Vikramāditya tradition as briefly as possible without going into unnecessary minor details. One is perfectly justified in not accepting it as historical so long as it is not corroborated by more positive evidence. But to regard Chandragupta II (or Skandagupta or Yaśodharman)¹ as the Vikramāditya of Indian tradition simply because he defeated the Śakas (or Hūṇas) and patronised learning (which belongs altogether to a different cycle of legends and is not mentioned in historical traditions) is a travesty of both history and tradition.

The Jaina traditions give a definite historical setting to King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. He flourished during the period following the dissolution of the Maurya

1. The identity with the three kings is upheld respectively by ŚRĪ R. G. Bhandarkar (followed by almost all modern scholars), K. B. Pathak, and Hoernle. Jayaswal has advanced a new theory "I have not", says he, "the least doubt that Gantamiputra Śātakarṇi was the Vikramāditya of the popular stories and the Jaina *gāthās*" (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, P. 251).

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA SĀMVAT

empire when the Sātavāhana family was ruling in the Deccan and the Śakas were knocking at the gates of India, but, thanks to his valour and prowess, could not permanently establish themselves on this side of the Indus. Instead of holding up this or that king of a later date as the source of all these traditions, one should rather try to find out whether the main elements of this tradition, so consistently kept within this proper historical setting, are opposed to any known facts of history or are confirmed by any independent evidence.

So far as the history of the period is known to us, the traditional account of Vikramāditya, as given above, does not militate against any known fact. On the other hand, the story of the Śaka invasion is borne out by the fact that Chashtana, the first of a long line of Śaka Satraps ruling in Western India, had his capital at Ujjain and certainly flourished about the time when the Śakas are represented in the Jaina traditions to have finally conquered the kingdom of Mālava. That the Sātavāhanas were at that time ruling in the Deccan and the Śakas were for some time settled on the territory just beyond the Indus are also well-known facts of history.

As regards confirmation, the earliest reference to the traditional king Vikramāditya occurs in a verse¹ in Hāla's *Saptasatī* which is generally referred to the first century A. D.²

1. V. 64 (Ed. Weber, No. 464).

2. According to Winternitz Hāla must have flourished in the first or second century A. D. and the *Gāthāsaptasatī* was composed by him (*Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. III, P. 103). MM. H. P. Sastri says that "Hāla cannot be placed later than the first century A. D." (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, P. 320). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that there are no adequate grounds for regarding Hāla as the author of *Gāthāsaptasatī* and assigns this work to the sixth century A. D. (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, P. 189). This view has, however, found no supporter.

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On the other hand, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's contention still remains true that his existence is not authenticated by any contemporary evidence. Such contemporary evidence could only be in the form of a coin or inscription. But in view of the paucity of such materials for this period their absence can hardly be regarded as a negative evidence of a decisive character. Even great and powerful kings like Chandragupta Maurya, Bindusāra and Pushyamitra, not to speak of earlier kings like Mahāpadma Nanda, have left no such archaeological evidence. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to reject an old historical tradition and assume the non-existence of a king Vikramāditya simply because his coins or inscriptions have not come to light. We should not, of course, definitely regard Vikramāditya as an historical person until more positive evidence is available, but it would be more reasonable to accept the existence of this king as a provisional hypothesis, like that of the many other kings whose names are known from the Purāṇas or Buddhist literature alone, than dogmatically to assert the contrary.

2. VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE ERA OF 57 B. C.

If we accept the hypothesis that King Vikramāditya, expressly referred to in the old traditions as the founder of the era of 57 B. C., did really exist about that time, the natural inference would be that this era was either founded by him or commemorates his reign. But some scholars are of opinion that even apart from the debatable question whether there was a king Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. or not, the manner in which the era is referred to or expressed in epigraphic records precludes its association with that king. Dr. Kielhorn, one of the greatest authorities on Indian eras, concluded,

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after a detailed examination of the question¹, that "the era was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramāditya". His arguments may be summed up as follows:—

1. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 57 B. C., or had there existed any tradition to that effect, it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards.

2. Had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned in the earliest dates and would not have been brought to our notice gradually, and, as it were, hesitatingly, when the era had already been in use for at least 500 years.

In support of these two arguments he refers respectively to the two following facts:—

1. A prince or a king Vikrama is for the first time spoken of in connection with the era in a poem composed in Vikrama Samvat 1050.

2. For the first five hundred years, the years of the era are simply referred to as *Samvat*. In the fifth century A. D. the era is for the first time called 'the era of the Mālavas', and in the eighth century A. D., 'the era of the Mālava Lord or Lords'. The earliest known instance of the word Vikrama occurring in a date we find in an inscription in which the year 898 is referred to 'the time called Vikrama'.

Further by analysing the first four hundred inscrip-tional dates in the Vikrama era he lays down the follow-ing result. That the first fifty dates contain only three

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XIX (Pp. 20 ff., 166 ff., 354 ff.), XX (Pp. 124 ff., 397 ff.).

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express references to the Vikrama era; the next fifty, 7 such references; the fifty dates after that, 14 references; and the last fifty, 17 such references. From this Dr. Kielhorn arrives at the conclusion that the connection of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted.

It is not, however, difficult to show that Dr. Kielhorn's conclusions are not warranted by his premises. For the peculiarities noted by him in regard to the Vikrama era are also true of the other eras in ancient India. Take, for example, the case of the Śaka era. The earliest inscription in which the name Śaka is used with the era of 78 A. D. is dated 500 of that era. In literature the use of the name Śaka with the era is carried back to Śaka 427 by the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. So far as the epigraphic records are concerned, the dates of the era, for the first five hundred years, are simply referred to as *varsha*. After that came into use the terms, 'the era of the Śakas' and 'the era of Śaka King's coronation', corresponding to 'the era of the Mālavas' and 'the era of the Mālava Lord' in the case of the Vikrama Saṁvat. The name of the king who founded the era of 78 A. D. or in whose memory it was invented is not mentioned in a single instance in the numerous inscriptions dated in that era. Further, an analysis of the first hundred Śaka dates of the list given by Kielhorn gives the following result:—

- (a) Reference to 'Śaka King' occurs only in 26 cases.

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Thus here, too, the fact that a Śaka king founded the era is only gradually brought to our notice, even after it was mentioned at all.

The case of the Gupta era is also similar. I have analysed the first fifty dates in the Gupta era (ending in G. E. 221) contained in Bhandarkar's List in *Ep. Indica*. Out of these only 3 refer to the era as Gupta-kāla (or an equivalent expression), 37 refer to it simply as Samvat and the remaining 10 as *varsha* or *abda*. It may be argued that the term Gupta was not used with the era as these inscriptions contained references to a Gupta king. But the fact is that all the three inscriptions which call the era Gupta-kāla contain express reference to a Gupta king, while 23 inscriptions containing no reference either to any individual Gupta king or to Gupta sovereignty in a general way simply refer to the era as *Samvat* or *varsha*. As in the case of the Śaka era, not a single inscription dated in the Gupta era mentions the name of the king who founded the era; none does even refer to a Gupta king as the founder of the era. If, in spite of all these, it is permissible to hold that the Gupta and Śaka eras were respectively founded by or commemorate the accession of Chandragupta I and Kanishka (or any other king), the facts stated by Kielhorn can hardly justify the conclusion that the era of 57 B. C. was neither established by nor designedly invented in memory of a king Vikramāditya.

More recently, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has repeated the views of Dr. Kielhorn even in stronger language, and has urged that the sooner the old view (of Vikramāditya having founded the era of 57 B. C.) is consigned to oblivion, the better.¹ The only additional argument brought forward by him is that "all the earlier inscrip-

1. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Pp. 188 ff.

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tions going back to the fifth century A. D. give an entirely different name for the era." This is based on the fact that five inscriptions, dated 282, 428, 461, 480 and 481, use the word *Kṛita* along with the year of the era. The meaning of the word has not yet been satisfactorily explained. According to MM. H. P. Sastri *Kṛita* was the name of the first year of a cycle of years¹ and Dr. Sten Konow has explained it on the basis of a seasonal calendar.² These views may not be correct, but the probability is not altogether excluded that *Kṛita* is a technical astronomical term of which the meaning is at present unknown. In any case, there are not sufficient grounds for taking *Kṛita* as the early name of the era.³ Besides, so long as the meaning of this word is not clearly established, even such a name can hardly invalidate the theory of Vikramāditya having founded the era. For '*kṛita*' ordinarily means 'made', and it may well refer to the era which was first made, *i. e.*, established in India by King Vikramāditya. It may be noted in this connection that a duplicate of the inscription dated 282 does not contain the word *Kṛita*, and in two out of the remaining four instances the era is also associated with the Mālavas.

In his eagerness to disprove the connection of Vikramāditya with the era, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar even goes so far as to assert that the Mālavas had no special association with the era of 57 B. C., and their connection with it was only in regard to the system of

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reckoning the *tithis* and thereby the years also. But as Dr. Bhandarkar himself admits, the expressions used along with the years in inscriptions dated 461, 493 and 589 of the era undoubtedly mean that the era was "traditionally handed down by the Mālavas" and "according to the usage of the Mālavas". Dr. Kielhorn has also shown by an analysis of the inscriptions dated in that era that "the earliest known dates from V. 428 to V. 898 are all from eastern Rajputana which borders or is included in Mālava".¹ It is difficult to maintain, in the face of all these, that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the foundation of the era. Indeed, the very close and intimate association of the era with the Mālavas during the first 900 years, which is proved both by the expressions referred to above and by the geographical area where its use was confined, is a strong argument in support of the Jaina tradition that the era was founded by Vikramāditya, king of Mālava.

In this connection I would refer to a dictum of Dr. Oldenberg, which ought to be inscribed in letters of gold on the writing-table of every student of Indology. Referring to the controversies about the true epoch and origin of the Gupta era he remarked²:—

"The fundamental mistake which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition which we possess regarding it, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it."

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, P. 402.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, P. 217.

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The final solution of the problem of the Gupta era has proved the wisdom of the above view of Oldenberg. I have followed the principle recommended by Oldenberg in regard to Vikrama era, and have sought to establish the following conclusions:—

(1) That according to a very clear and ancient tradition, which bears the stamp of historical character, King Vikramāditya of Mālava founded the era, and it commemorates the expulsion, by him, of the Śakas who had captured his capital city Ujjayinī; and

(2) That no definitely established historical fact is in conflict with the above tradition.

In conclusion, I hope that any one who discusses the question in an unbiassed spirit, and on the principle so well stated by Oldenberg, will accept the main elements of the Jaina tradition about Vikramāditya as a provisional hypothesis, until it is confirmed or demolished by more positive evidence. In any case, it is time that the hunting for the King Vikramāditya of tradition among the crowned heads of ancient India must definitely come to an end.

KALIDĀSA AS SEEN IN HIS WORKS

By

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That genius is purely a celestial gift was so deep-rooted a belief with Indians in the past that whenever they came across a man of phenomenal mind they invariably attributed his intellectual brilliance to divine favour. In order to emphasize this idea of theirs they invented stories in which they represented the man in question as a fool by birth but turning out a prodigy by a touch from heaven. Thus was our Pāṇini only a dullard, plodding wearily amidst laughter and contempt in the hermitage of Varsha, when one day as he threw himself, in frenzied despair, upon the mercy of the Lord of Kailāsa, there flashed upon his mind the entire Science of Language at the rumbling of the Lord's drum ! So was our Tulasīdāsa only a passionate lover, but metamorphosed into a devout worshipper, by a gentle reproof from his wife; and helped by a goblin to the beatific vision of God, he warbled out verses which shine like stars ! So our Kālidāsa, too, has not fared better in the current legends about him.

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Born of Brāhmaṇa parents but left an orphan at the age of six months, brought up as a foundling by a cowherd whose cattle he tended till he arrived at years of discretion, Kālidāsa attracted the notice of a certain minister by his sheer folly of hacking the very branch of a tree on which he sat. This minister had been asked by his sovereign to find a suitable match for his daughter who had rejected not only his son but also several other young suitors as being too inferior to her in learning. Naturally out of spite he was on the lookout for a youth who was handsome in looks but altogether blank in mind. As these two conditions were fulfilled in this clumsy woodcutter, he forthwith took him in hand, and having conspired with all the vindictive Paṇḍitas of the realm who had been worsted by the princess in disputations, and having instructed Kālidāsa not to open his lips on any account, he brought him into the presence of the king, attired in fine clothes and attended by admiring disciples, as a repository of all arts and sciences. The princess was told that on account of a vow Kālidāsa abstained from the use of words and debated through the medium of signs only. Therefore, to test him she first raised her forefinger, meaning thereby that there was only one homogeneous Entity in the Universe. By way of rejoinder Kālidāsa raised his two fingers, meaning thereby that if she injured one eye of his he would put out her both. Now the counterfeit disciples, fully supported by the court Paṇḍitas, raised a clamour that their Guru was perfectly right in maintaining that Matter and Spirit were two separate realities and not one evolving from the other. And before that captious and vociferous crowd, the princess was simply dumbfounded. She had to accept defeat and, being favourably impressed

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by Kālidāsa's prepossessing appearance, accepted him also as her consort.

But on the day of their first meeting the fraud was discovered. Wild with rage and remorse, the princess spurned him out of her room as unfit even to be her torch-bearer. Stricken in conscience and ashamed of his life, Kālidāsa repaired to a sequestered temple and, looking upon himself as no better than a goat in intellect, offered himself as a sacrifice to the Goddess Kālī. And as he raised his dagger to put it into his bosom, the Goddess caught hold of his hand and breathed into him a portion of her own power. That very instant Kālidāsa the idiot became the idol of India !

Some time after, Kālidāsa sought an interview with the princess, which she condescendingly granted him. As his face seemed to beam with super-intelligence, she jestingly asked him if he could now pretend to some elegance in speech before he talked with her. As her question was worded thus : अस्ति कश्चिद्वाग्विशेषः ?, he took up each word of it separately and made it the beginning of his three famous works which he composed on the spur of the moment. Starting with अस्ति he began as follows : अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नपाधिराजः । and finished his *Kumārasambhava*. Then with कश्चित् he began his *Meghadūta* as follows : कश्चित्कान्ताविरहगुण्या स्वाधिकारात्प्रमत्तः and finished it. Lastly with वाक् he began his *Raghuvamśa* as follows : वागर्थविश्वं संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये । and finished it. These unpremeditated verses, so rich in thought, sweet in diction and graceful in conceit, changed the attitude of the princess towards him completely. Her sullen pride gave way to sincere love. But as Kālidāsa owed his intellectual rebirth to her, he revered her as mother. Thereupon in a fit of rage and disappointment she cursed him to violent death

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at the hands of a woman. As he had denied himself the joys of matrimonial life, he paid court to venal beauties and passed much of his time in their company. Once upon a time, it is said, when he had gone to Ceylon to meet his friend Kumāradāsa, the author of the *Jānakīharṇa*, there, he happened to hear from the mouth of a courtesan that the king of that place had offered a big prize for the completion of a verse which began as follows : कमले कमलोलसिः श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते । 'The rise of a lotus from a lotus is heard of, but never seen.' Thereupon Kālidāsa composed the other half of the verse in no time and solved the riddle as follows : बाले तव मृगान्मनोजातकवमिन्वीवरद्वयम् । 'Then, my dear, how is it that (I see) a pair of blue lotuses (springing) from the red lotus of your face?' The greedy courtesan, coveting the prize offered by the king for her own self, murdered Kālidāsa, but, when questioned threateningly by Kumāradāsa on pain of death, she confessed her crime. The king was so much grieved at the tragic end of his distinguished guest that he threw himself upon the funeral pyre that was set ablaze for Kālidāsa. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana has recorded that the place where our poet was cremated in Ceylon is shown to this day at the mouth of the Kirindi river in the southern part of the island called Māṭar.

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Once upon a time a certain Paṇḍita came to the royal court and having uttered a line, containing only six synonyms of 'ocean',¹ challenged the learned men of the court to complete the stanza. Through sheer inability all hung down their heads in shame. The palm of victory was about to pass over to the new-comer, when out came the first three lines from the mouth of Kālidāsa :

अम्बा कुप्यति तात मूर्ध्नि विधृता गङ्गोयमुत्सृज्यताम्
विद्वन् षष्मुक्ष संततं मयि रता तस्या गतिः का वद ।
कोपादोपवशाद्विवृद्धवदनः प्रत्युत्तरं दत्तवान्
अम्भोविर्जलविः पयोविन्दविर्वारानिर्वारिविः ॥

"Once upon a time Kārttikeya said to his father, 'Papa ! Please shake off this Ganges whom you have given a place on your own head; for mother is awfully angry at it.' Śaṅkara said in reply, 'My learned boy, where could she go—she who is for ever affectionately devoted to me?' Thereupon through vehemence of anger the six mouths of Kārttikeya opened all at once and simultaneously therefrom came out the word 'ocean', as the fittest place for her to go to."

Since all such anecdotes about Kālidāsa occur for the first time in the work of the Tibetan Bhikṣu, Tārānātha, who belongs to the seventeenth century A. D., the natural conclusion is that all the marvellous stories came into being long after the death of Kālidāsa. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that there is not the slightest reference to the Goddess's boon or to divine inspiration in any of the laudatory verses written by Bāṇa, Abhinanda, Sodḍhala and others about Kālidāsa. Nor can any reliance be placed upon the story relating to Kālidāsa's friendship with Kumāra-

1. अम्भोविर्जलविः, पयोविन्दविर्वारानिर्वारिविः.

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dāsa; for its first mention occurs in a Ceylonese work of the sixteenth century A. D. Moreover, as Kumāradāsa, according to Prof. Keith's conclusive evidence, lived somewhere between 700 A. D. to 750 A. D., Kālidāsa could hardly be his contemporary, much less a friend of his.

Since the current stories about Kālidāsa, as we have seen above, are obviously figments of imagination and as the poet himself has left no account of his life and times, we have to catch glimpses of his personal history from his own writing. Literature is, after all, an expression of personality; and since personal thoughts, feelings and points of view are the outcome of one's varied experience of life, it will not be injudicious to deduce the facts of Kālidāsa's life from his works. If care is taken not to overstrain certain points under reference, our deductions will certainly deserve more credence than the traditional accounts that are in circulation.

That Kālidāsa was born in a Brāhmaṇa family may now be accepted with certainty. Whenever his narrative turns upon the seers of Vedic hymns, spiritual heads of hermitages, sacrificial priests and Brāhmaṇa students either undergoing the rigorous discipline of their teachers or about to enter the world after the completion of their studies, his heart seems to glow with such fervour as comes from affinity alone, and it is this which vivifies the word-portraits that he has drawn of them. Moreover, in the *Śākuntala* we come across a verse¹ which he has composed in imitation of

-
1. अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तचिष्याः
समिद्धन्तः प्रान्तसंस्तीर्णदर्माः।
अपञ्चन्तो दुरितं हव्यगन्धै—
वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु ॥

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a Rik metre; this may be taken as an additional proof of his Brāhmaṇic origin. Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasada Shastri takes him to be a Dasorā Brāhmaṇa on the supposition that he was a native of Mandasor. But Kālidāsa's references to Ujjain leave no doubt in the mind that he was more intimately associated with this city than with Mandasor; hence MM. Shastri's conjecture is open to dispute.

The language of Kālidāsa is so chaste and refined, his thought so pointed and deep, and his information so liberal and profound that it is certain he must have in his early days received education in a systematic manner and not merely gleaned it perfunctorily at random. From the accounts of Chinese pilgrims, as also from old Pāli works, we learn that in ancient times there were magnificent Universities at Taxila in the Punjab, at Nālandā in Magadha, at Valabhī in Kathiawar, and at Ujjain in Malwa, where erudite scholars pursued knowledge in all its branches, where students from all parts of India flocked to receive instruction in various arts and sciences, and where the Muse of poetry was not neglected but propitiated with a zest. Besides these far-famed Universities, which had been in existence for several centuries in the past, there were several centres of learning, scattered all over India and located in woodland retreats called hermitages. It is at one of these places that Kālidāsa must have prosecuted his studies. His vivid portrayal of daily life in the hermitage, whether of Kaṇva in the *Śākuntala*, or of Chyavana in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, or of Vasishṭha in the first canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, does not look like a hearsay report but bears the stamp of first-hand knowledge. We may reproduce here at some length the description of Vasishṭha's hermitage, as given by the poet, when King Dillpa arrived there

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with his wife towards the close of day. 'The place looked brisk with life, as the hermits who had gone to the neighbouring forest to collect sacred wood, Kuśa grass and edible fruits were now returning with their precious load; as their wives stood at the doors of the huts, feeding the young deer that thronged around them, straining their necks eagerly for a mouthful of corn and frisking about in grateful glee; as their daughters, having filled the basins round the tender plants, stood a little away so that the birds may confidently quench their thirst out of them; as the antelopes sat unconcernedly in the front court-yards, ruminating by the side of the wild rice piled up in heaps; as the sacrificial fires were now set ablaze to receive evening oblations and the air was redolent of the smoke of burnt offerings.' Having slept there on a bed of Kuśa grass, Dilīpa is said to have been awakened at early dawn by the sound of pupils conning their lessons in the Vedas.

In the fifth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, while narrating the episode of Kautsa, a disciple of Varatantu, Kālidāsa incidently² tells us that there were fourteen subjects of study which a pupil had to complete before he was permitted by his teacher to enter the world. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya have specified these subjects as follows:—the four Vedas, the six Auxiliary Parts thereof, the Principles of Vedic Interpretation, Logic deductive and inductive, Mythology and the Code of Laws. Besides these, a poet, according to Rājasekhara³, must familiarise himself with various Systems of Philosophy and several Schools of Religious Belief, Civics, Politics and Economics, Erotic Science and

1. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verses 49-53. Also cf. Canto V, Verses 5-10

2. वित्तस्य विद्यापरिसंख्यया मे कोटीश्चतस्रो दश चाहरेति ।

3. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Chapter 8.

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Dramaturgy, Pearls and Gems, Manners and Customs of different places. That our poet was quite at home in all these subjects can be shown from the incidental and yet pointed references to them in his writings in the course of his narratives and descriptions, or in his dramatic dialogues, or in his similes and metaphors. Of course he never consciously strives to overwhelm the reader with the weight of his learning, as Māgha and others do, but his versatile knowledge spontaneously manifests itself in the variety of topics which he has treated in his works.

The following two verses indicate Kālidāsa's study of the *Rigveda* and its rhythmical stress:—"You are the source of those divine words which begin with the mystic syllable *OM*, which are pronounced in three different accents—acute, grave and circumflex, which enjoin the performance of sacrifice and hold forth the fruit of heaven."¹ "Then the sage approached the resplendent Rāma, with Sītā accompanied by her two sons, as one waits upon the refulgent Sun, with the *Gāyatrī* hymn pronounced with proper accentuation and linguistic purity."² The Horse-sacrifice, as laid down in the *Yajurveda*, is referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as performed by Pushyamitra who sent an expedition under his grandson for world-wide conquest. The hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are referred to in the *Raghuvamśa*³ as efficacious in securing the safety of a kingdom. The plot of the *Vikramorvaśīya* seems to have been suggested to him from the *Rigveda* (X. 95) and the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (V. 1-2). Some of his similes, too, give evidence of his acquaintance with *Brāhmaṇa* works.

1. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto II, Verse 12.

2. *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XV, Verse 76.

3. *Ibid.*, Canto I, Verses 59 and 61.

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“Like Dakṣiṇā, the wife of Sacrifice, was Sudakṣiṇā the wife of Dillīpa”¹ is an echo of a Brāhmaṇa passage. ‘The Almighty dropped a portion of His potent energy in the waters and therefrom sprang the whole creation, animate and inanimate’ and ‘The Supreme Self revealed itself into Male and Female forms to set the world agoing’², these two ideas seem to have been borrowed from the Brāhmaṇas or from the *Manusmṛiti*. Our poet has a marked leaning towards the spiritual rather than the ritual side of religion. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* he says that the knowledge of the Self is the crowning glory of the Vedas. The description of Brahmadeva and Śiva in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* and of Viṣṇu in the *Raghuvamśa* is indicative of his firm conviction, born of Upanishad studies, that there is one single homogeneity in apparent diversity³. The use of such technical words as *kṣetra*, *kṣetrajña* and *akshara*, of such similes as ‘on account of the suspension of the internal vital airs, the ascetic shines like a lamp burning steadily in a place protected from the winds’, of the idea of the Himālaya as embodying the magnificence of God in inanimate creation,⁴ clearly evidences his deep study of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Witness also in this connection the description of the ocean in Canto XIII of the *Raghuvamśa*.

Besides the Vedānta, the poet’s grasp of other Systems of Philosophy including the Yoga is obvious from the eulogistic address of the gods to Brahmadeva in the second canto of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* and from the

1. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verse 31.

2. *Kumāra.*, Canto II, Verses 5 and 7.

3. *Ibid.*, Canto II, Verse 11; Canto III, Verse 15.

4. *Ibid.*, Cantos I, III, VI.

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description of Śiva's meditative trance in the third canto of the same poem, containing such technical expressions of Yogic postures as *paryāṅkabandha*, *vīrāsana* and such tenets of Yogic philosophy as 'by the inward concentration of all faculties one sees Eternal Light within oneself'.

That our poet had studied the religious and secular Laws, as embodied in *Gṛīhyasūtras*, *Dharmasūtras* and *Smṛitis*, is evident not only from the description of the wedding of Aja and Indumatī in the *Raghuvamśa* and of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Kumārasambhava* according to the ritual prescribed, but also from 'The queen followed the path of the cow as *Smṛiti* does the import of *Śruti*',¹ 'The wealth of a rich man who dies childless becomes the property of State',² 'Śiva on the day of his marriage slept on the bare ground',³ 'His subjects did not even slightly swerve from the line of conduct laid down by Manu'.⁴ His knowledge of the technical sides of Sanskrit Grammar is witnessed in such similes as 'Like general rules whose province of operation is shrunk by exceptions',⁵ 'Like a substitute placed in the room of the original root',⁶ and from the etymological explanations he has given of such names as *Umā*, *Raghu*, *Aja*, *Chandra*, *Tapana*, *Śatakratu*, etc. according to *Pāṇiniya* system.

Kālidāsa had clearly acquired great political wisdom derived mainly from the study of the *Arthaśāstras* and perfected by his varied experience of life in all its aspects. This is fully borne out by his employment of

1. *Raghu.*, Canto II, Verse 2.

2. *Śākuntala*, Act VI.

3. *Kumāra.*, Canto VII, Verse 94.

4. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verse 17.

5. *Kumāra.*, Canto II, Verse 27.

6. *Raghu.*, Canto XII, Verse 58.

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the technical terms of Political Science, such as ¹*saptāṅga*, *yātavya*, *prakṛiti*, *praśamana*, *mūla*, *pratyanta* and *pārshni*, in his descriptions of the domestic and foreign policy of his heroes, their expeditions, conquests, alliances and methods of government. He has actually mentioned *Sukranīti* by name in the third canto of the *Kumārasambhava*, and in the first act of the *Mālavi-kāgnimitra* he has quoted the saying of a political writer, namely, 'The enemy that has recently come to the throne and, therefore, has had no time to establish his sway firmly in the hearts of the subjects is as easy to displace as a newly planted tree which has not yet struck its roots deep'. The description of Raghu as *Dharmavijayī*, of the Suhmas as saving their lives by resorting to *Vaitasī vr̥itti*,¹ of Atithi as observing strictly the time-table for the day and night which the writers on Polity have sketched out for the rulers of the earth,² of Agnimitra and Dushyanta as abiding by the decisions of their Amātya-parishad in conducting the government of their kingdom, of the capital of Purūravas as having a Nāgarika to maintain peace and order in it—all this points out the poet's knowledge of the Science of Politics.

Kālidāsa had also with equal diligence studied the Erotic Science. Kaṇva's advice to Śakuntalā (Act IV, Verse 81) mostly embodies the laconic instructions of Vātsyāyana to married women : स्वभूश्चक्षुरपरिचर्या तत्पारतन्त्र्य-मनुत्तरवादिता । भोगेष्वनुत्सेकः । परिजने दाक्षिण्यम् । नायकापचारेषु किञ्चित्कलुषिता नात्यर्थं निबदेत् ॥—*Kāmasūtra*, Pp. 236-239. The delightful scene of the first meeting of Dushyanta with Śakuntalā and her two friends is only a dramatic elaboration of what Vātsyāyana says about

1. *Raghu*., Canto IV, Verse 35.

2. *Ibid.*.. Canto XVII. Verse 49.

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the behaviour of a young, bashful woman in the presence of her lover : 'She should open the talk with him through the mouth of her bosom friend, but herself sit silent with her eyes turned downwards and a happy smile playing upon her lips. Should the friend go beyond the formal exchange of words, she should assume a look of displeasure. Should the friend say 'Thus she confided to me', she should vehemently protest. If the lover solicits a reply from her, she should either not open her lips at all, or in faint accents pretend ignorance of what is asked, and at the same time shoot a side-long glance at him with a significant smile to add poignancy to it.' The scene of the meeting of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā in the first act of the *Śākuntala* is exactly on these lines. In the *Kāmasūtra* we have a fine description of men about the town called Nāgarakas who were young gallants—clever, polite and smart-looking, and always on the lookout for a beautiful face. The use of the word *Nāgaraka* in 'साधु, आर्य ! नागरकोऽसि । अत्यसंक्रान्तप्रेमाणो नागरका अधिकं दक्षिणा भवन्ति ।'² 'नागरकबृत्त्या शान्तयेनाम् ।'³ is, according to the context, in conformity with Vātsyāyana's description.

To say that Kālidāsa, the celebrated dramatist, had thoroughly studied the Science of Dramaturgy is to make a superfluous assertion. In the third act of the *Vikramorvaśīya*, while describing the representation of Bharatamuni's *Lakshmīsvayamvara* in heaven by celestial nymphs, in the course of which the love-sick Urvashī inadvertently committed an error of name and was in consequence cursed by the Muni, Kālidāsa has employed such technical terms as *samādhi*, *vr̥tti*, *rasa* and

1. *Kāmasūtra*, Pp. 202 ff.

2. *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act V.

3. *Śākuntala*, Act V.

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rāga. His knowledge of the various types of Dance, such as *chhalika*, *bhāvika*, *pañchāṅgābhinaya*, is exhibited in the first two acts of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which are mainly concerned with the wrangling of two dancing masters and the competitive test of their two pupils in this art. He seems to be familiar with all kinds of musical instruments, which have been classified into four groups as follows :—

ततं वीणादिकं वाद्यम्
आनदं मुरजादिकम् ।
वंशादिकं तु सुषिरम्
कांस्यतालादिकं घनम् ॥

But he seems to have a special liking for *Vīṇā* (lute) and *Muraja* (tabor) which are popularly known as *Satār* and *Mṛdaṅga* respectively. God Śiva is said to have been awakened from his sleep by the auspicious songs of Kinnaras who produced sweet strains of music from the wires of their *Vīṇā* in harmony with the melodious modulations of their voice.¹ The Yaksha imagines his wife as wiping the tears off the strings of her *Vīṇā* to set them in tune before voicing forth her sorrows of separation in pathetic melody.² The word *mūrcchana* used here is a technical term. It is the *māyūrī mārjanā* of *mṛdaṅga* which is said to announce to all that *Mālavikā*'s dance was about to begin.³ In the city of *Alakā* the *mṛdaṅga* was played upon to keep time to the vocal and instrumental music. His appreciation of the masterly skill in playing on the tabor is expressed in 'So lightly and in so captivating a manner did his hands move on this instrument, with such absorption of self in the spirit of his art, that the dancing

1. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto IX, Verse 85.

2. *Meghadūta*, Verse 91.

3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I.

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damsels were simply swept off their feet in a trance of delight, much to their own embarrassment afterwards.¹ His keen susceptibility to music is apparent from the following observation: 'On hearing sweet sounds even a happy mortal grows restless with a yearning for—he knows not what! Perhaps he recollects but faintly, without the consciousness of previous experience, the impressions of friendly associations of past life.'² How his ear was sensitive to discord of sound can be judged from the following simile: 'As revolting to the mind as a lute played upon without setting the strings in proper tune.'³

Like Music, our poet valued Painting very highly and understood its technique to a nicety, as is evident from such similes as 'The several features of her body were now gradually brought into relief by the touch of youth as the different parts of a picture in outline take shape by degrees under the painter's brush', and from the representation of his two royal heroes, Dushyanta and Purūravas, and of the Yaksha and his wife in the *Meghadūta*, as remarkably accomplished in this art. In this connection the Picture-board scene of the sixth act of the *Śākuntala* deserves special mention. Here besides the admiring compliments paid to the king by Vidūshaka and Sānumatī for his masterly delineation of sentiment in the lovely pose and features of Śākuntalā, as seen for the first time with her two friends in the woodland habitation of Kaṇva, the king deliberates like a connoisseur as to what would be the proper background for such a picture to set off its charms in entirety. He says: 'Let there be in front

1. *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIX, Verse 14.

2. *Śākuntala*, Act. V, Verse 2.

3. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto I, Verse 45.

4. *Ibid.*, Canto I, Verse 32.

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a rippling stream of river, flanked on either side with lowly hills and having couples of swans seated on its sandy expanse in unconcerned repose, and let there be a luxuriant tree behind, with a few bark garments fluttering on its branches, underneath which I should like to paint a hind rubbing her left eye languidly against the horn of an antelope.' He further says: 'In conformity with the exquisite delicacy, bashful modesty and sylvan life of my beloved, let this be the decoration—a Śirīsha flower so placed on her ear as to touch her cheek but lightly with its hanging filaments and a necklace of lotus-fibres so drawn over her breasts as to rival the transparency of the autumnal moon-beams.' When the picture is finished, not only Sānumatī, but even Dushyanta himself is so deluded by its exact fidelity to the original that he proceeds to punish the bee for harassing his beloved.

The poet's knowledge of Astrology and Astronomy is evident from the use of such technical terms as *jāmitra*, *uchcha-sthāna* and others.¹ 'While entering the penance-grove of Śiva, Cupid avoided the glance of the door-keeper as carefully as a monarch does the quarter lit up by Venus when starting on an expedition of conquest';² 'At an auspicious moment presided over by Mitra, when the Moon was in conjunction with the Uttarāphalgunī asterism, married women dressed the hair of Pārvatī';³ 'Let us depart from this place before Irāvati retraces her steps, like the planet Mars turning retrogressively in its revolution to shed malign influence';⁴ 'What wonder is there if the twin

1. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto VII, Verse 1; *Raghuvamśa*, Canto III, Verse 13.

2. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto III, Verse 43.

3. *Ibid.*, Canto VII, Verse 6.

4. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act III.

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Viśākhā stars follow the new digit of the Moon';¹ 'Here comes the Royal Sage with Urvāśī and Chitrālekḥā, like the Moon with the two Viśākhā stars';²—all these statements clearly indicate not only the poet's knowledge of Astrology, but also his interest in personal observation of the starry heavens. 'The physicians declare that it tells upon one's health to transgress the usual time of dinner';³ 'Here comes Mālavikā to bring solace to your mind smitten by love, like a piece of sugar-candy to one who is tipsy with drink';⁴ 'The remedies calculated to save the life of those who are just bitten by a serpent are: to excise the part injected with poison, to cauterize it, or to scarify it so as to let the blood flow out freely';⁵—all these reflect the poet's reading of works on Medicine. His descriptions of battles and campaigns reveal his study of books on the Science of Warfare.

Whether Kālidāsa had travelled through the length and breadth of India or whether he depended upon the reports of traders and pilgrims is a moot point, but it is out of question that he possessed a full and accurate knowledge of the Geography of India. In the fourth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* which deals with Raghu's conquest of the kingdoms in the East, South, West and North of India and in the sixth canto of the same poem which describes the kings of various parts of India the mention of rivers and mountains, of places with their characteristic features, customs and products is factual, not fictitious. Pearl-fisheries, saffron plants, cardamom creepers, sandals and palms

1. *Sāhityāla*, Act III.

2. *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act I.

3. *Mālavihāgnimitra*, Act II.

4. *Ibid.*, Act III.

5. *Ibid.*, Act IV, Verse 4.

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f all kinds, grapes and vines have been described in connection with those parts of India where they are found to this day. His description of the cloud-messenger's way from Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek near Nagpur) to Alakā on the Kailāsa mountain is equally accurate.

Since Kālidāsa derived the material for his poems and plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and current literature, his careful study of these needs only passing mention. The similarity of ideas and expression between him on one hand and Bhāsa on the other is so striking as to suggest that this celebrated man of letters, his predecessor, was a source of inspiration to him and his pioneer in the classical style of poetry, which he brought to perfection. He was not a slavish imitator; what he imbibed, he assimilated; what he made his own, he reproduced in his own way which is decidedly better both in matter and form.

What idea do we form of Kālidāsa the man from his writings? He was neither a recluse shunning society, nor a cynic hating mankind, nor a rake given to frivolous way of life, but a respectable citizen, a dutiful householder, a faithful husband, a loving father and a sincere friend. Otherwise, how could he voice forth with such pathetic tenderness and touching melody the sorrows of a lovely heart torn away temporarily or permanently from its life-long companion in weal and woe as he does in the *Meghadūta* and the *Raghuvamśa*? How could he say 'Blessed are those mortals who are soiled by the dust of their children's limbs,—the children which run to their lap with guileless smiles that reveal the lustre of their budding teeth,—the children that prattle forth delightful nothings in sweet and indistinct accents' ?¹ How could he write of a wife as 'She was not

1. *Sākuntala*, Act VII.

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only the queen of my household, but my best counsellor in need, my bosom friend to share the burden of my heart, my dearest pupil in fine arts';¹ or pay such compliments to women as 'The performance of religious duties is impossible without them',² 'They are indispensable to successful negotiations in marriage affairs',³ 'Their word is law to men in the matter of the daughter's disposal',⁴ 'Devoted wives never cross the wishes of their husbands',⁵ 'Though they rival the lotus in delicacy, yet surpass the durability of gold in hardships' ?

Being a shrewd observer of life in general and of human nature in particular, Kālidāsa had ample opportunities at the court of King Vikramāditya to witness the relations of rulers and subjects, masters and servants, officers and people, courtiers and their manners, processions and pageants. The results of his observation have been embodied not only in his elaborate descriptions of stately events, but also in his generalisations, such as, 'The attentions of lords towards their adherents fluctuate' according to the purpose they have in view',⁶ 'Clever people, biding their time patiently, prefer a request at the right moment and meet with a favourable response from the persons in authority',⁷ 'Humble submission is the only remedy against the wrath of high-souled persons'.⁸ Witness in this connection how, in the Fisherman's scene of the *Śākuntala*, the attitude of the constables and their officer changes towards their suspect in a moment from haughty in-

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1. *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VIII, Verse 37.
 2. *Kumārāsambhava*, Canto VI, Verse 13.
 3. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 32.
 4. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 35.
 5. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 86.
 6. *Ibid.*, Canto III, Verse 1.
 7. *Ibid.*, Canto VII, Verse 93.
 8. *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, Verse 64.

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difference to covetuous flattery ! Many such instances can be cited to prove that Kālidāsa had mixed freely with all grades of society and had explored, with a penetrating and yet sympathetic glance, the diversities of character and environment.

Though he was endowed by nature with a poetic vision of the highest order and enriched by study with countless treasures of knowledge, though his mental horizon far exceeded 'the circle bounding earth and skies', yet he never took on airs like Paṇḍita Jagannātha, nor like Bhavabhūti did he dispose of his contemporaries as too dull to comprehend his meaning. He simply appeals to the people of his time to judge him by his merits and not to despise him on the ground of modernity as a dabbler in verse ! With exquisite humility he says in his introduction to the *Raghuvamśa* : 'Where on one hand is the dynasty that traced its descent from the Sun and where on the other hand is my intellect of limited range ! Aspiring to encompass with such a mind the achievements of so illustrious a family, I feel as if I am attempting to cross the vast ocean with a ramshackle shaft.' To quote his own words in appreciation of his modesty, 'The trees bend their branches to the ground, when laden with fruit; the clouds hang low on the horizon, when filled with water; the good become humbler in spirit, the higher they rise in greatness.'

Such is, in brief, the picture of Kālidāsa, the man, that we get from a careful study of his works. On the occasion of the bimillennium anniversary of the era founded by his patron Vikramāditya it may not be out of place to express the hope that a correct understanding of his life and works would spread among the millions that honour his name !

CHANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA

(C. 376-414 A. D.)

By

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, Lucknow

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya is a unique character in the annals of kingship. His predilection for assuming titles containing the word *Vikrama* suggests a strong ground for his identification with King Vikramāditya of tradition. As will be seen below, on his Chhatra Type of coins it is stated in its legends that "Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta, after conquering the Earth, conquers Heaven by his righteous deeds and calls himself Vikramāditya". On his Lion-slayer Type of coins, he assumes the title of *Simha-Vikrama*, while on the Horseman Type, the legend on the reverse is *Ajita-Vikramaḥ*. On his silver coins which were issued in his newly conquered territories of the Kshatrapa rulers in Western India, he purposely assumes the title of *Vikramāditya* to indicate his valour as a conqueror, and, on another variety of these coins, he coins a new title for himself, viz., *Vikramāṅka*. Lastly, even on his copper coins, there occurs the title of *Vikramāditya*.

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King Vikramāditya of tradition is associated with Nine Gems, or literary celebrities, who shed lustre on his Court. These Nine Gems are thus enumerated in a verse contained in the work called *Jyotirvidābharana* :

Dhanvantari-Kshapanakāmarasimha-Śaṅku—
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghaṭakarpara-Kālidāsah/

Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛpateḥ sabhāyām
ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya//

Of these *Gems*, as will be seen below, only a poet of the name of Kālidāsa is associated in some later literary texts with King Chandragupta II. But it is by no means settled whether this Kālidāsa was the same as the famous poet.

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the question of the identification of King Chandragupta II *Vikramāditya* of Gupta history with King *Vikramāditya* of tradition. Its purpose is only to present an objective study of all the facts that can be known from concrete, definite and dated sources, both epigraphic and numismatic, that are available for his reign. The presentation of his history is strictly limited to and conditioned by the evidence that is available in different sources bearing on his reign.

It is felt that an account of the reign of Chandragupta II *Vikramāditya* should be included in this *Vikramāditya* Volume.

Date : His dates may be deduced from a number of dated inscriptions discovered for his reign. The first of these is the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of G. E. 61 = A. D. 380 (*EI*, XXI). The inscription has some significant words read by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, I, 270) as '*Mahārāja-Rājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptyasya*

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Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare pañchame’, showing that this inscription dated G. E. 61 (*saṁvatsare ekashasṭe*) was issued in the 5th year of the reign of Chandragupta II. His reign therefore commenced in G. E. 61 — 5 = G. E. 56 = A. D. 376. This inscription is important as mentioning the earliest date of the Gupta era which may be taken to be as defined by Alberuni in his statement that “the epoch of the Guptas falls 241 years later than the *Śaka-Kāla*”, i. e., in A. D. 78 + 241 = 319 (Sachau, *Alberuni’s India*, II.7).

The second dated inscription of his reign is the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Gupta year 82 = A. D. 401, which was issued by his feudatory belonging to the Sanakānika family.

The third is the Sānchi Stone Inscription of Gupta year 93 = A. D. 412 issued by Amrakārdava who seems to have been a minister of Chandragupta II “to whose favour (*prasāda*) he owes the fulfilment of the object of his life (*āpyāyita-jīvita-sādhanaḥ*), and who was the hero of many a battle.” (Fleet, No. 6).

The fourth inscription is the Gadhwā Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88 = 407 A. D. Parts of the inscription are lost including Chandragupta’s name, but that it belonged to his reign may be taken for granted both from the date and from his titles *Paramabhāgavata* and *Mahārājādhirāja* still preserved.

The date of Chandragupta II may also be inferred from that of his silver coins which he had issued after his conquest of Surāshṭra and modelled on the coins of its previous rulers, the Kshatrapas. It will appear that the latest coins of the Western Kshatrapas are of the Śaka year 310 = A. D. 388. The earliest date

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of the Kshatrapa coins as restructed by Chandragupta II is $90 \text{ or } 90 + X = A. D. 409$.

Name : Chandragupta II appears to have several names. The name 'Devarāja' is given to him in Sānchi Inscription (Fleet, No. 5). A Vākātaka inscription mentions Prabhāvatīguptā as the daughter of Devagupta and Kuberaṇāgā and describes Devagupta as *Mahārājā-dhirāja*, while the Riddhapura Grants of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā mention her father's name as Chandragupta II. This shows that Devagupta is another name of Chandragupta. It also appears that Chandragupta had a third name, Devaśrī, as used on his Archer and Couch Types of coins.

Nomination : The Eraṇ Stone Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, No. 2) refers to 'the many sons and grandsons of Samudragupta, while the Mathurā Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (Fleet, No. 4) states that he was chosen for the throne out of all his sons (*tat-parigrihītena*) by Samudragupta. The same fact is repeated in the Bihār and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta (Fleet, Nos. 12 and 13) where the phrase *tat-parigrihīta* is used in respect of Chandragupta II. The repetition of this fact of Chandragupta II being deliberately preferred for the throne to all his sons by Samudragupta shows that it was an outstanding fact in Gupta history, and should, therefore, dispose of the theory based on certain later texts and traditions that the immediate successor of Samudragupta was another son of his, known as Rāmagupta. The inscriptions shut out the supposition that there was any other Gupta king between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Samudragupta, in fact, pays to his son the same compliment as was paid to him by his father who acclaimed him as the fittest of all his

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kinsmen (*tulyakulaja*) to succeed him on the throne. These references rule out room for any other king lacking his predecessor's nomination for the throne.

Family : His mother, the wife of Samudragupta, is called *Dattā* in the Eraṇ Inscription and *Dattadevī* in the Mathurā Stone Inscription as also Bihār and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta, with the title Mahādevī.

Chandragupta had at least two wives, named Dhruvadevī and Kuberanāgā. Dhruvadevī is mentioned in three Gupta inscriptions (Nos. 10, 12 and 13 of Fleet) in which she is described as Mahādevī and as the mother of the Prince Kumāragupta I. One of the seals found at Vaisālī describes it to be of 'Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II and mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta.' Dhruvasvāminī of this seal is no other than Dhruvadevī of the other inscriptions. As already stated, Queen Kuberanāgā is known as the mother of Chandragupta's daughter, Prabhāvatīguptā, and as born of a Nāga family (*Nāgakulot-pannā*; see *JRASB*, 1924, P. 58).

This Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance brought to Gupta family several offshoots and extended political influence. This will be clear from Vākāṭaka history.

Samudragupta, as already stated, had defeated the Vākāṭaka king Rudradeva, *i. e.*, Rudrasena I (344-48 A. D.) who had to cede to him the eastern part of Vākāṭaka territory (Bundelkhand), leaving room for its expansion towards the West. Vākāṭaka power was very much extended by the next king Prithivīśeṇa I by his conquests in Central India and the Deccan including Kuntala. This increase of Vākāṭaka power led Chandragupta to seek its alliance by marrying his

daughter to Rudrasena II, son of Prithivishena I. The result was that Vākātaka politics came under the influence of the Gupta empire. The change is indicated in certain literary texts and inscriptions. Prithivishena I had a long reign (upto c. 375 A. D.) but his son, Rudrasena II, the son-in-law of Chandragupta, had a short one followed by the regency of his daughter and its control by her father. As stated by the commentator of the Prākṛita Kāvya, *Setubandha*, Chandragupta's grandson, Pravarasena II, was in his court and composed that work which underwent revision at the hands of Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. This tradition makes Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Pravarasena II Vākātaka contemporaries. Again, Bhoja, in his *Śṛīṅgāraprakāśa*, has a verse which is ascribed to Kālidāsa who is said to have made a report to the Gupta Emperor on the luxurious life at the court of the Lord of Kuntala who must have been his grandson, Pravarasena II. The embassy of Kālidāsa to the Kuntala court is also referred to as *Kuntaleśvara-dautya* in Kshemen-dra's *Auchityavichāra*. The Paṭṭan Plates of Pravarasena II also mention a Kālidāsa as the writer of that record. These references do not settle the point whether Kālidāsa they mention was the great poet, but they establish Gupta contact with Kuntala, which was brought on by the regency administration of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā seeking her father's intervention which was further increased under the inefficient rule of her son given to a life of luxury and poetical preoccupations.

Gupta contact with Kuntala is further attested by the Tālagunda Pillar Inscription which states that a Kadamba king of Vaijayantī in Kuntala (Kanarese Country) gave his daughters in marriage to Gupta and

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other kings. It seems that the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman married his daughter to Kumāragupta (or to his son). Some mediaeval chiefs of Kuntala trace their lineage to Chandragupta. Several grants of the Western Gaṅgas indicate that Kākusthavarman is to be assigned to A. D. 435-475 (Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, Pp. 87-91; Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, P. 475, Notes).

Events: The most important event of his reign is his conquest of Western Malwa and Surāshṭra (Kathiawad) which were under the rule of Śaka satraps. It will appear from the Eraṇ Stone Inscription of Samudragupta that Eastern Malwa had already passed under the rule of the Guptas. Airikiṇa (Eraṇ) was the city situated in a sub-division of the modern Saugor District of C. P. and is described in the inscription as the city of Samudragupta's own enjoyment (*svabhoga-nagara*). Eastern Malwa must have been the base of Chandragupta's operations against the Śaka kingdom in Western India. The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II which is not dated like the other inscription in the same cave describes how the King came to that place in Eastern Malwa in person in pursuit of his programme of world conquest (*Kṛitsna-prithvī-jayārthēna*) and with him came his Minister (*Sachiva*) named Vīrasena Śāba hailing from the city of Pāṭaliputra. It is also stated that Chandragupta II who is described as the sage of a sovereign (*rājarshi*) appointed Vīrasena as his Minister for Peace and War. The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Gupta year 82=401 A. D. indicates how the chief of Sanakānika tribe (near Bhilsa) was acknowledging Chandragupta II as his liege lord. The Sānchī Inscription of Gupta year 93=412 A. D. also shows how Chandragupta's authority was very well

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established in that region administered by his officer called Amrakārdava known for his victories in many battles. These inscriptions show the steps in the advance of Gupta power towards the West. This advance was materially aided by Chandragupta's alliance with the Vākātaka king whose geographical position could affect movements to its north against the Śaka satrapies of Gujarat and Surāshtra.

The actual conquest of these Śaka territories is proved only by coins. As has been already stated, the latest coins of the Western Kshatrapas are not later than A. D. 388, while the earliest coins of Chandragupta II in this region are not earlier than A. D. 409. It was thus by a protracted war of about twenty years that Gupta power was extended upto the Western Sea. Although Chandragupta II modelled his coinage, which was in silver, on that of the Kshatrapas, he was careful to impress upon it marks of his conquest. The obverse of the coins does not show any change. It still shows the King's head with traces of Greek inscription still appearing as before with date behind, but on the reverse the place of the Chaitya is taken by the specific Gupta emblem of Garuḍa, along with the Gupta legend, *Paramabhāgavata*.

There is also a piece of literary evidence pointing to the victory of Chandragupta II against the Śaka king in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, where it is stated how Chandragupta in the disguise of a woman coveted by the lustful Śaka king *was killed by him* on the spot at his own capital.

Ministers: Chandragupta had a number of able Ministers who are thus mentioned in his inscriptions :

(1) A Chief (*Mahārāja*) of the Sanakānika family who served (*pādānudhyāta*) Chandragupta as his overlord

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(*Mahārājādhirāja*) as stated in the Udayagiri Vaishnava Cave Inscription of 82. He must have been one of the governors in charge of parts of Eastern Malwa conquered by Samudragupta and visited by Chandragupta as the place of preparation for his expedition towards the West.

(2) *Amrakārdava*, hailing from *Sukuli-Deśa* and associated with the *Mahāvihāra* of *Kākanādabota* (old name of *Sānchī*) to which he gave an endowment out of his abundance he owed to the patronage (*prasāda*) of the King whom he loyally served by fighting and winning his many battles, as stated in the *Sānchī* Stone Inscription of year 93.

(3) *Śāba Virasena*, hailing from *Pāṭaliputra*, who was Chandragupta's Minister for Peace and War (*Sandhi-Vigraha*) by hereditary right (*anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyo*) and thus accompanied the King on his far-reaching military expeditions, as stated in a second Udayagiri Śaiva Cave Inscription.

(4) *Śikharasvāmī* who is described as a Councillor (*Mantri*) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II, with the title of *Kumārāmātya*, in an inscription on a stone liṅga found at *Karamdāṇḍā* in the Fyzabad District of the Gupta year 117=A. D. 436 and belonging to the reign of *Kumārāgupta I* (*EI*, X, 71-72).

(5) *Mahārāja Śrī Govindagupta*, a son of Emperor Chandragupta II, who appears to have been the Governor of the Province called *Tirabhukti*, with its headquarters at *Vaiśālī*, from the seal issued by him and discovered by Bloch at *Basarh* (*ASR*, 1903-4, Pp. 101-20). It appears that *Govindagupta* is also mentioned in the newly discovered *Mandasor* Inscription of the

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Mālava-Vikrama year 524 (*ASI*, Annual Report, 1922-23, P. 187; *EI*, App. No. 7).

Administrative Officers : The excavations carried out at Basarh (ancient Vaisālī) by Bloch brought to light numerous clay seals which were issued by Prince Govindagupta, the various officials of his administration and the prominent citizens and communities of his Province. They mention the following officials: (1) *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*, Chief of the Prince's Ministers. He is given the curious title of *Yuvarāja*, a title that is repeated on another seal and coupled with another significant title, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, as the Chief of the Prince's Ministers; (2) *Balādhikaraṇa*, the Head of the Army, who also bears the titles of *Yuvarāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*; (3) *Raṇabhāṇḍādhikaraṇa*, Chief of the Military Exchequer; (4) *Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa*, the Chief of the Police; (5) *Vinayaśūra*, Chief Censor; (6) *Mahāpratihāra*, Chief Chamberlain; (7) Talavara (uncertain); (8) *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*, Chief Justice; (9) *Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka*, Minister for Law and Order; (10) *Bhaṭṭāśvapati*, Head of the Infantry and Cavalry; (11) *Uparika*, Governor of the Province, as in *Tirabhukti-uparika-adhikaraṇa*. It may be noted that the terms *Śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya* and *Yuvarāja-pādīya* as used on these seals for the officer called *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* indicate the Chief Minister in waiting on the King and the Crown Prince respectively.

The Chief Executive Officer of the Municipal Office of Vaisālī is called *Vaisālī-adhishtāna-adhikaraṇa*. The city of Udānakūpa was governed by the Committee or Municipality called *Parishad*. The Monastery (Vihāra) of Kākanāḍabota was governed by the *Ārya-Saṅgha*, and also an Assembly of Five called *Pañcha-Manḍalī* (Fleet, No. 5).

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Guilds: A large number of these seals was issued by the *Nigamas* or Guilds of different classes of economic interests. These were of Bankers (*Śreshṭhīs*, modern *Seths*), Traders (*Sārthavāhas*) and Merchants (*Kulikas*). These Guilds functioned like Chambers of Commerce of modern times. Many seals were issued jointly by these three classes of Guilds as shown in their legend, *Śreshṭhī-Sārthavāha-Kulika-Nigama*, or by two, as in the legend *Śreshṭhī-Kulika-Nigama*. The Merchants' Guilds bear an appropriate symbol, a money-chest (My *Local Government in Ancient India* (Oxford), Pp. 111-113).

Some of these corporations operated as Bank of those days. The *Ārya-Saṅgha* in charge of the *Śrī-Mahāvihāra* of *Kākanādabotā* receives a donation in cash of 25 *dināras* to be kept in permanent deposit with the *Saṅgha* with the stipulation that the money will be held by it as a trust-fund, out of the interest of which provision will be made for feeding daily 5 Bhikshus and for burning a lamp in the *Ratnagriha* (probably the *Stūpa* as the abode of the three *Ratnas* or Jewels, viz., the Buddha, the Dharma and the *Saṅgha*) in the great *Vihāra*, 'as long as the moon and the sun exist' (Fleet, No. 5). The *Saṅgha* is here thus functioning as a bank of deposit and also as a trustee holding in safe custody and in perpetuity a fund in aid of the beneficiaries fixed by the donor, while keeping the corpus of the donation intact. A similar transaction is indicated in the Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88 (Fleet, No. 7).

Administrative Divisions: The Empire was divided into convenient administrative units. The largest unit was the Province called *Deśa*, e. g., *Sukuli-Deśa* (Fleet, No. 5). The Province was also called a

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Bhukti, e. g., Tira-Bhukti in a Basarh Seal Inscription. A Province again was made up of Divisions which were called *Pradeśas* or *Vishayas*, e. g., Airikiṇa-Pradeśa (Fleet No. 2).

Religion : The Gupta Empire treated all religions equally. The principal religions of the times were Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Buddhism. Permanent benefactions in support of each of these religions were encouraged by the State. The Gupta Emperors themselves were orthodox Hindus. Chandragupta II takes the title of *Paramabhāgavata* which is a Vaishṇava title (Fleet, No. 4). No. 5 of Fleet refers to the grant by a prominent minister of Chandragupta II of a village, or an allotment of land, called *Īśvaravāsaka*, and a sum of money to the community of Buddhist monks called *Ārya-Saṅgha* belonging to the great *Vihāra* at *Kākanāda-boṭa* (Sānchī). As the donor was a Buddhist, he does not apply to Chandragupta his usual epithet of *Paramabhāgavata*, 'the sincerest devotee of Viṣṇu'. One of the Udayagiri Caves bears an inscription of another minister of Chandragupta II who was a devout Śaiva. It records that the cave was excavated as a temple of God Śambhu or Śiva (Fleet, No. 6). It also naturally omits as irrelevant the mention of the King as a *Paramabhāgavata*. The other Udayagiri Cave which bears the dated inscription of Gupta year 82 appears to be a Vaishṇava cave (Fleet, P. 23) from its sculptures representing the figures of (1) the four-armed Viṣṇu with his two wives and (2) a twelve-armed goddess who might be Lakshmi. The Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88 repeats the title of *Paramabhāgavata* for Chandragupta II because it is a Brāhmaṇical inscription. The inscription is very much mutilated, but the fragments that remain record two gifts of ten

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dānāras each as contributions in aid of a Brāhmanical institution, a perpetual alms-house or a charitable hall (*śādā-sattra*) for its Brāhmaṇa residents. This gift shows that the religious sense of the people encouraged endowments of social service as a form of worshipping God through service of man.

The Mathurā Pillar Inscription of A. D. 380 testifies to an offshoot of Śaivism, the sect of Māheśvaras, flourishing at Mathurā under the teacher named Uditāchārya. In the inscription, he mentions his preceding teachers as Bhāgavatas and names them as Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara, from whom he is thus fourth in descent (*Bhagavat-Parāśarāt chaturthena*). He also describes himself as being tenth in descent from Bhāgavata Kuśika, who was thus the founder of this particular Śaiva sect, that of the Māheśvaras. It will appear that this Kuśika is mentioned in the *Vāyu-* and *Liṅga-Purāṇas* as the first disciple of the great Lakuli described as the last incarnation of Śiva Maheśvara. Lakuli had four disciples each of whom was the founder of a Pāśupata sect.

The inscription further states that Āchārya Uditā, for the sake of addition to his own religious credit (*sva-punya-āpyāyana-nimittam*), and also for the glory (*Kīrti*) of his teachers (*gurus*), set up in the 'Shrine of Teachers' (*Guru-āyatane*) what are called Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara. The term *Īśvara* as used here is taken to indicate that what were installed (*pratiṣṭhāpita*) were *Liṅgas*, together with the images or statues of the teachers. A *Liṅga* was set up in the name of each teacher and the fact that it was set up in the *Guru-āyatana* shows that the *Liṅgas* were accompanied by the statues. Bhāsa's drama called *Pratimā-Nāṭaka* mentions a royal gallery of portrait-statues called *deva-kula*, and this

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Guru-āyatana was perhaps also planned as a *pratimā-griha*, a house of teachers' statues. The inscription reads: 'Upamiteśvara-Kapileśvarau Gurv-āyatane guru.....' The missing words after *guru*, showing space for at least five letters, may be taken to be *guru-pratimā-yutau*, as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*EI*, XXI, P. 5). Āchārya Uditā repeats that this monument is not meant for his own fame (*naitat khyātyartham*) but for the attention of the Māheśvaras (*viññaptih*) and the admonition of the āchāryas that they should consider it as their own property (*āchāryāṇām parigraham*) and, without any reservation (*viśaṅkam*), worship it with offerings (*pūjā-puraskāram*) and maintain it with gifts (*parigraha-pāriṣālyam*). It may be noted that the expression '*Devakulasabhā-vihāra*' occurs in the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 of Fleet).

Apart from the inscriptions, the coins of Chandragupta II indicate his personal religion of Vaishṇavism. It is indicated by the legend *parama-bhāgavata* appearing in his gold coins of the Horseman Type. The same title also appears on his silver coins which were meant for circulation in his newly conquered territory, which was under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas, and were modelled on their coins. As conqueror, he had to observe as much as possible the manners and customs of the conquered country, and especially the characteristics of the currency to which it was used. Thus on the obverse of his new-struck coins, he kept up the conventional head which had done duty for centuries as a portrait of the reigning satrap, but their reverse he utilized to indicate his conquest and the change in its sovereignty. Even on the obverse, Gupta conquest

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is indicated by replacing the Śaka era by the Gupta era. The reverse, however, introduces a specific feature of Gupta coinage. Garuḍa, the bird of Viṣṇu, the deity of Chandragupta II, takes the place of the Kshatrapa *Chaitya*.

The copper coins of Chandragupta II declare his religion of Vaiṣṇavism by having the figure of Garuḍa on the reverse.

Centres : The capital of the empire was Pāṭali-putra called Pushpa in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. His campaigns and conquests show that Chandragupta II was also associated with the city of Eastern Malwa, Vidiśā, while, as we have seen, some of the chiefs of the Kanarese Country claiming connexion with him describe him as 'the Lord of Ujjayinī, the foremost of cities (*Ujjayinīpuravarādhīśvara*) as well as of Pāṭali-putra. His association with Ujjayinī also follows his supposed identification with the Śakāri Vikramāditya of tradition. It may also be noted that Vasubandhu's biographer Paramārtha describes Ayodhyā as the capital of a Vikramāditya. Paramārtha (A. D. 500-569) was a Brāhmaṇa of Ujjayinī who spent some time in Magadha and was in China between A. D. 546-69. He states that Vasubandhu, a Brāhmaṇa of Purushapura (Peshawar), came to Ayodhyā on the invitation of Bālāditya, son of Vikramāditya, who first placed Bālāditya under his tuition as a patron of Buddhism. If this Vikramāditya is identified with Chandragupta II, Ayodhyā is to be taken as one of the chief cities of his empire. The identification depends on the date of Vasubandhu. We have already seen how Vaiśālī was also an important city of the empire.

Coins : Like his father, Chandragupta II issued various types of coins in accordance with the needs of a

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large empire. They were (1) Archer, (2) Couch, (3) Chhatra, (4) Lion-slayer, (5) Horseman. All these types also show varieties in features.

This type is the commonest of his coins and shows great variety. The first variety is that of the reverse showing either *Throne* or *Lotus* as the seat of the Goddess, while within each class there are minor varieties depending on the position of the *Bow* and of the name *Chandra* on the obverse.

This variety shows on obverse "King standing left, nimbate, as on Archer Type of Samudragupta, holding *bow* in left hand and *arrow* in right; *Garuḍa* standard bound with fillet on left; *Chandra* under left arm around the legend *Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptah.*"

It shows on reverse "Lakshmi, seated facing, nimbate, on throne with high back, as on similar coins of Samudragupta, holding *cornucopiae* in left hand and fillet in right; her feet rest on *lotus*; border of dots; on right *Śrī-Vikramah.*". There is a variety showing Goddess seated on throne *without back*, and holding lotus in left hand, instead of cornucopiae, and is thus more Indianised.

This variety shows on obverse the King drawing an arrow from a quiver standing at his feet on left and on reverse "Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus and fillet in outstretched left and right hands respectively."

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Other varieties of this class show (1) "King left holding arrow in right hand" as in Throne Reverse class, (2) *Crescent* above standard on obverse, (3) Wheel (Vishṇu's *Chakra*) above standard on obverse, (4) "King standing right wearing waist cloth and ornaments only, holding bow in left and arrow in right hand;" (5) King standing to left with bow in right hand but leaning his left arm on his hip without holding an arrow, a very rare variety.

It is to be noted that Varieties (2) and (3) are marked by heavy weight and debased metal while Variety (4) drops the conventional Kushan dress in favour of Indian waist cloth with sash.

Very probably the Throne class, by its features, was more in vogue in the northern, and the Lotus class in the central and eastern, provinces, where foreign features were not suitable.

The obverse shows "King wearing waist cloth and jewellery, seated, head to left
Couch Type on high-backed couch, holding flower in uplifted right hand, and resting left hand on edge of couch; legend, *Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirājasya Śrī-Chandraguptasya*." The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmi) seated facing on throne without back, holding lotus in uplifted left hand, resting feet on lotus," as on some specimens of Archer Type; "on right the legend *Śrī-Vikramah*". On the specimen at the Indian Museum, the legend on the obverse contains the additional word *Vikramādityasya* and beneath couch the word *rūpākṛiti*. The expression evidently refers to his physical and cultural qualifications. This type is rarely found and was issued early in the King's reign, as indicated by the throne reverse.

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There are two main varieties of this type marked by a variety in the obverse legend. The first class shows on the obverse "King standing left, nimbate, casting incense on altar on left with right hand, while left rests on sword-hilt; behind him a dwarf attendant holds *Chhatra* (parasol) over him; legend *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*" as against the legend *Kshitim avajitya sucharitair divam jayati Vikramādityaḥ* occurring on the obverse of the other variety. The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmi) nimbate, standing left on lotus, holding fillet in right and lotus in left hand, and legend *Vikramādityaḥ*. In the other variety, the Goddess appears to rise from lotus (as *padmasambhavā*). It also shows specimens containing representations of the Goddess in different positions or postures.

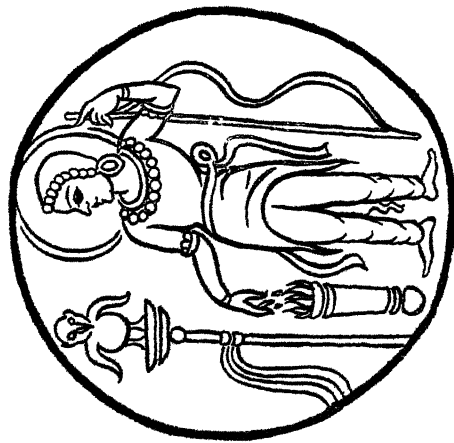
The meaning of the obverse legend is that "Vikramāditya, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven by his good deeds."

This type is represented in a large variety of specimens showing on obverse the *Lion-Slayer Type* King hunting down lion in different positions and on reverse the appropriate Goddess *Durgā Simha-Vāhinī* seated on lion in different positions.

Class I shows on obverse "King standing right or left, wearing waist cloth with sash which floats behind him, turban or ornamental head-dress, and jewellery, shooting with bow at lion which falls backwards and trampling on lion with one foot."

PLATE I

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Archer (Lotus Reverse) Type



Obverse



Reverse

Vide Pp. 338-339

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Couch Type



Obverse



Reverse

Vide P. 339

PLATE III

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Chhatra Type



Obverse



Reverse

Vide P. 340

PLATE IV

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Lion-slayer Type



Obverse



Reverse

Vide Pp. 340-341

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The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmi-Ambikā) seated, nimbate, facing, on lion to left or right, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left on certain varieties; lotus on other varieties; border of dots; symbol on left."

The hunting scene on obverse is portrayed on coins in the following different ways :

1. King to left shooting lion as described above but *not* trampling on it.
2. King shooting lion which falls back from its spring.
3. King with left foot on back of lion which retreats with head turned back, shooting it with bow in left hand.
4. Lion on left retreating.
5. King standing right with left foot on lion which retreats with head turned snapping at the King as he strikes at it with sword in uplifted right hand.

Vincent Smith described these varieties as Lion-trampler, Combatant Lion, and Retreating Lion Types.

The reverse portrayal of the Goddess also shows some differences among coins, *e. g.*, (1) Goddess seated facing on lion which is walking to right; (2) Goddess seated to left astride of lion, with her left hand resting on lion's haunch; (3) Goddess seated facing, on lion couchant left, with head turned back.

Now as to legends, that on Class I on obverse reads in its full form as follows: *Narendrachandrah prathitaśriyā divam / Jayatyajeyo bhuvi simhavikramah*/"The moon among kings, with far-spread fame, invincible on earth, conquers heaven, with the valour of a lion."

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On Class II, the obverse has a different legend which may be constructed as follows : *Narendrasimha-Chandraguptaḥ prithivīm jitvā divam jayati* | "Chandragupta, the lion among kings, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven."

On the reverse, the legend is generally *Śrī-Simha-vikramaḥ*. On one variety, it is *Simhachandraḥ*.

We thus see that the sport of lion-hunting captured the King's imagination which suggested a variety of designs in its treatment by craftsmen who were set to reproduce all possible positions in which the royal hunter and his big game found themselves on different occasions of hunting. It is to be noted that, while Samudragupta was thinking of the tiger as his game, his son was more obsessed by the lion. There seems to be a deep reason for this difference between the father and son as to big game-hunting by each. As has been already stated, the Tiger Type of coins celebrates Samudragupta's conquest of the Gangetic Valley abounding to this day in forests breeding the royal Bengal Tiger. The Lion Type of coins issued by Chandragupta II has a similar regional significance and celebrates his conquest of regions which are the habitat of the Lion. It celebrates his conquest of the regions of Western Malwa and Surāshṭra or modern Kathiawad which is still the abode of lions to this day in India. Further, like the Tiger and Goddess Gaṅgā linked together, the Lion on the obverse has very naturally suggested for the reverse the Goddess Durgā with whom it is associated as Her sacred seat and *Vāhana* or vehicle. She rides on lion as the picture of Śakti, Invincible Might, invoked by Chandragupta II in his arduous adventure for the conquest of the Śaka satrapy of Surāshṭra. There is thus an underlying design and

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purpose shaping Gupta coinage, giving to it a profound historical significance.

This type is an important innovation of Chandragupta II and was continued extensively by his successor, Kumāragupta I.

Horseman Type

The obverse shows "King riding on fully caparisoned horse to right or left; his dress includes waist cloth with long sashes which fly behind him, and jewellery (ear-rings, armlets, necklace, etc.); on some specimens he has a bow in left hand, on others he has sword at left side."

The reverse portrays "Goddess seated to left on wicker stool, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus with leaves and roots behind her in left border of dots." This design marks its complete divergence from the Ardochso coinage and its purely Indian character.

The legend on the obverse is *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* or *Bhāgavato*, and on the reverse *Ajitavikramaḥ*.

The use of the new title *Bhāgavata* shows that the King is no longer the worshipper of Śakti, for he has already accomplished his programme of conquests. He can now devote himself to the tasks of Peace and leave the sword for the flute as worshipper of Viṣṇu and His consort, Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Peace and Plenty, consecrating himself as a *Bhāgavata* to the cult of Non-violence.

While the above types of coins were in gold, Chandragupta II, after his conquest of the Western Kshatrapa Kingdom,

Silver Coins

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had to keep up its silver coinage, stamping on it some Gupta features. The obverse of these restruck silver coins shows the King's bust to right, as on Kshatrapa coins, with traces of Greek letters, and on left the word *Va* (*rshe*), and date, in Brāhmī numerals, in the Gupta in place of the Śaka era. The reverse shows a completely Gupta design, the figure of Vishṇu's bird, Garuḍa, standing facing with outspread wings, and the corresponding legend describing the King as a devotee of Vishṇu : *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandragupta-Vikramāṇkasya*.

Chandragupta II was also the first to issue copper coins of which the general type is King on Obverse, and Garuḍa on Reverse, with variations in the figuring of both. There is bust, three-quarters, or half-length of the King, with flowers in right hand, while Garuḍa is seen nimbate, standing facing with outspread wings, or with, or without, human arms, or standing on an altar, or holding a snake in his mouth, or merely holding it. There is also a Chhatra Type of these copper coins, showing King at altar, with a dwarf attendant holding *Chhatra* over him. There are also types omitting the King but keeping up the Garuḍa, with the obverse legend *Śrī-Chandra*-completed by the legend *Guptaḥ* on the reverse, or simply the name *Chandra* by itself, without the suffix *Gupta*, on some examples. On some specimens there is a variety replacing Garuḍa by a flower-vase, with flowers hanging down its sides.

Thus Chandragupta's numismatic innovations comprise the figures of Couch, Chhatra, Lion, Horse, and Garuḍa, and of Goddess Lakshmi on lotus in place

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of the Throned Goddess (Ardochso), and also silver and copper coinage.

Titles : His coins give Chandragupta II the following titles : *Rūpākṛiti*, *Vikramāditya*, *Vikramāṅka*, *Śimhaviškrama*, *Narendrachandra* and *Paramabhāgavata* (which is also mentioned in his inscriptions).

Condition of the Country as seen by Fa-hien : It will appear that Chandragupta ruled over an empire which extended from the peninsula of Kathiawad in the West to Eastern Bengal, and from the Himālayas to the Narmadā. The efficiency of Gupta administration was demonstrated by the material and moral progress of the people, of which glimpses are given in the record of the travel undertaken in the country by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, between the years A. D. 399-414, i. e., in the time of Chandragupta II whose name, however, is not mentioned by him.

Fa-hien, however, was not the sole and solitary instance of this cultural intercourse between India and China. India for long had been looked up to by China as the seat of saving knowledge and highest wisdom which were eagerly and devoutly sought after by her best minds. These were found in Buddhism of which India was the cradle. Buddhism became known in China as early as the 3rd century B. C. Since then it created a stir in Chinese religious circles and a movement towards India for drinking in her wisdom at its very sources.

Fa-hien very keenly felt that the Buddhist "Disciplines" were very imperfectly known in China. In A. D. 399, he organised a joint mission with several Chinese scholars, Hui-ching, Tao-cheng, Hui-ying, Hui-wei and others to travel together to India to get at

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these "Rules", in the face of the risks to which such overland journey to India was exposed in those days. On the way, this band of missionaries met others who had preceded them on the same errand. They were Chih-yen, Hui-chien, Seng-shao, Pao-yun, Seng-ching, and others.

The first country where they saw Buddhism being followed was *Shan-shan*. Here were "some 4,000 and more priests, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle (*Hīnayāna*)". "The common people of these countries, as well as the Shamans, practise the religion of India," states Fa-hien.

Next, the party passed through several *Tartar* countries where also they found "all those who have 'left the family' (priests and novices) study Indian books and the Indian spoken language."

In the country of *Kara-shahr*, the Buddhist *Hīnayāna* monks numbered "over 4000."

After undergoing "hardships beyond all comparison" on their journey through uninhabited tracts, and across difficult rivers, the party came to the hospitable country of *Khotan* where the monks were mostly *Mahāyāna* and numbered "several tens of thousands". They were accommodated in a monastery known by the Indian name of *Gomatī*, where "at the sound of a gong, 3,000 monks assemble to eat." There were 14 such large monasteries in *Khotan*.

There was in the neighbourhood another monastery which was 250' high, "overlaid with gold and silver" and took 80 years to build under the reigns of 3 kings.

The next seat of Buddhism was *Kashgar* where the pilgrims found the king "holding the *pañcha parishad*" for purposes of making offerings including "all kinds

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of jewels such as Shamans require." There were here 1,000 Hīnayāna monks along with some sacred relics, the Buddha's spittoon and tooth.

From Kashgar, after crossing snowy ranges, the travellers came to Northern India and to a place called Darel where there were many Hīnayāna monks.

Next, they had to negotiate "a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road," with the Indus flowing along the deepest gorge. Coming down 700 rock-steps they crossed the Indus by "a suspension bridge of ropes" and met monks who anxiously asked Fa-hien "if he knew when Buddhism first went eastward" to which Fa-hien answered: "Shamans from India began to bring the Sūtras and Disciplines across the river from the date of setting up the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva 300 years after Nirvāṇa."

After crossing the Indus, the pilgrims came to the country called *Udyāna* where Buddhism was "extremely flourishing," and the language used was that of "Central India or Middle Kingdom."

The next stage reached was *Gandhāra* followed by Takshasilā and Peshawar where King Kanishka "built a pagoda over 400' high with which no other could compare in grandeur and dignity."

This whole region was studded with monuments enshrining the relics of the Buddha or incidents of his life: his foot-print, the stone on which he dried his clothes, his alms-bowl, the spot where he cut off his flesh to ransom a dove, or his eyes, or his head, for a fellow-creature, or gave his body to feed a hungry tiger.

From here Fa-hien was left alone. His companions, Hui-ching, Hui-ta, Tao-cheng, Hui-ying, Pao-yun and Seng-ching, all went back to China.

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Fa-hien next reached the country of Nagarahāra, with a shrine containing Buddha's skull-bone to which kings of neighbouring countries "regularly send envoys to make offerings." At the capital of Nagarahāra was a Buddha-tooth pagoda, as also a shrine holding Buddha's pewter-topped staff, and another, one of Buddha's robes, and the cave of Buddha's shadow, another pagoda 80' high at the spot where the Buddha shaved his head and cut his nails.

Fa-hien and his two other companions now crossed the Little Snowy Mountains (Safed Koh) where Hui-ching died in cold, saying to Fa-hien : "I cannot recover; you had better go on while you can; do not let us all pass away here." Gently stroking the corpse, Fa-hien cried out in lamentation : "It is destiny : what is there to be done ?"

Crossing the range, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Afghanistan and found there about 3,000 monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Schools.

A similar number of monks they also found at Falana or Bannu whence travelling eastwards they again crossed the Indus and came to a country called *Bhida* in the Punjab where Buddhism was very flourishing.

Passing through the Punjab with its "many monasteries containing in all nearly 10,000 monks," the pilgrims came to Mandor or Mathurā and found about "20 monasteries with some 3,000 monks" along the banks of the Jumna.

To the south of Mathurā is "the country called the *Middle Kingdom* (of the Brāhmaṇas), where the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land

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have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The King in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion, the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the King's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but *Chandālas* are segregated. *Chandāla* is their name for foul men (lepers)."

"In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. As a medium of exchange, they use cowries. Only the *Chandālas* go hunting and deal in fish."

Since the time of the Buddha, "the kings, elders, and gentry built shrines and gave land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, which subsequent kings did not dare disregard."

"Rooms, with beds and mattresses, food, and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling monks, without fail; and this is the same in all places."

"Pagodas are built in honour of *Sāriputra*, *Mugalan* and *Ānanda*, and also in honour of the *Abhidharma*, the *Vinaya*, and the *Sūtras*."

"Pious families organise subscriptions, to make offerings to monks, of various articles of clothing and things they need, after the annual retreat."

It may be noted that the Middle Kingdom was the stronghold of *Brāhmaṇism* and heart of the Gupta

Empire, where India's civilisation was seen at its best. The observations of Fa-hien show how the people were allowed by government considerable individual freedom not subject to vexatious interference from its officers in the shape of registration, or other restrictions; economic liberty with unfettered mobility of labour, so that agriculturists were not tied to holdings like serfs; and humane criminal law. The moral progress and public spirit of the people are shown in their liberal endowments of religion and educational institutions. These endowments took the form of permanent grants of lands, with full apparatus necessary for their cultivation by men and bullocks. This shows that these cultural institutions had to maintain efficient agricultural departments to make out of their landed properties, cultivated fields, as well as gardens or orchards, enough income to meet their expenditure. Monetary grants in aid of schools and colleges were unknown in those days. The ways of life were based on the cult of non-violence, with vegetarian diet, ruling out heating spices like onion or garlic, also distilleries, piggeries, and butcheries.

Fa-hien now visited the sacred places of Buddhism : *Sankisa* (Kapitha) where Asoka built a shrine and a pillar 60' high, with a *lion*-capital, with about 1,000 monks, and another six or seven hundred in a neighbouring monastery; *Śrāvastī* with its many monuments of Buddhism.

Here Fa-hien arrived with his only companion Tao-cheng. The monks asked Fa-hien : "From what country do you come ?" And when he replied, "From China", the monks sighed and said : "Good indeed ! Is it possible that foreigners can come so far as this in search of the Faith ? Even since the Faith has been transmitted by us monks from generation to genera-

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tion, no Chinese adherents of our Doctrine have been known to arrive here."

Fa-hien saw at Śrāvastī the famous Jetavana Vihāra which he calls the Shrine of the Garden of Gold built by "Sudatta who spread out gold money to buy the ground."

He saw "all those spots where men of later ages have set up marks of remembrance."

"In this country there are 96 Schools of Heretics (non-Buddhists), each with its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls."

"They further seek salvation by building alongside of out-of-the-way roads houses of charity where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and to wandering monks passing to and fro; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case."

This is remarkable testimony to public philanthropy inspired by the spirit of social service, the religion which includes worship of God as embodied in humanity, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and expressed itself in the establishment of *Dharmaśālās* open to all without distinction of caste or creed, to Hindus of all sects as well as to Buddhists, though the people were predominantly followers of Brāhmaṇical religions. It is also interesting to note that these ancient *Dharma-śālās* anticipate the rules of residence obtaining in their modern substitutes, limiting residence to short periods.

Fa-hien still found places associated with Devadatta, and previous Buddhas such as Kaśyapa, Krakuchhanda, or Kanakamuni.

He found Kapilavastu a wilderness, with its many Buddhist monuments "still in existence." "On the roads

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wild elephants and lions are to be feared.” He also visited Lumbinī, Rāmagrāma and Vaiśālī, and crossing the Ganges came to Pāṭaliputra in Magadha.

At Pāṭaliputra, formerly ruled by King Aśoka, “the King’s palace, with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid, after no human fashion, is still in existence.”

These remarks rather suggest that Pāṭaliputra did not occupy the same position of importance in the Gupta empire as it had in the Maurya empire.

Upto Pāṭaliputra, Fa-hien was accompanied by his companion, Tao-cheng, but now he, too, was to part from him. He was so much impressed by the spirituality of the Śramaṇas of Central India that he prayed that “from this time forth until I become a Buddha, may I never live again in an outer land.” “He, therefore, remained and did not go back, but Fa-hien’s object being to diffuse a knowledge of the Disciplines throughout the land of China, he ultimately went back alone.”

Fa-hien found at Pāṭaliputra one Mahāyāna and another Hīnayāna monastery. The former had a Brahman Buddhist teacher named Raivata, “a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. All the country looked up to and relied upon this one man to diffuse widely the Faith in Buddha. It also had as its resident another famous Brahman teacher named Mañjuśrī who was “very much looked up to by the leading and religious mendicants throughout the kingdom.”

Fa-hien has some interesting observations on the country of Magadha and its civilization. “Of all the countries of Central India, this has the largest cities and

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towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practising charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour."

At their festivals, such as procession of images "in four-wheeled cars of five storeys," "the Brāhmaṇas came to invite the Buddhas and were thus quite catholic in their religious outlook."

As regards public philanthropy endowing social service, Fa-hien says : "The elders and gentry of these countries have instituted in their capitals *free hospitals*, and hither come all poor or helpless patients, orphans, widowers, and cripples. They are well taken care of, a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their needs. They are all made quite comfortable, and when they are cured, they go away."

Fa-hien found an Aśoka Pillar bearing an inscription near his Pagoda (Stūpa) at Pāṭaliputra and another in its neighbourhood, with a lion-capital and inscription.

He next passed through Nālandā "where Sāriputra was born" and where was a pagoda of old still existing, and Rājagṛha where he visited the numerous sacred spots of Buddhism including the Vulture Mountain where Fa-hien's "feelings overcame him," but he restrained his tears and said "Buddha formerly lived here and delivered the Śūraṅgama Sūtra. I, Fa-hien, born at a time too late to meet the Buddha, can only gaze upon his traces and his dwelling-places."

He next proceeded to Gayā and Bodh-Gayā, seeing all the Buddhist sacred places and monuments, and then retraced his steps towards Pāṭaliputra and arrived at Benares and its deer-forest where he found two monasteries with resident monks.

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Now, he commenced his return journey home, coming back to Pāṭaliputra and "following the course of the Ganges down stream" came to Champā whence, proceeding farther, he arrived at the country of Tamluk "where there is a sea-port". He saw here 24 monasteries and stayed for 2 years, "copying out Sūtras and drawing pictures of images," and then "set sail on a large merchant vessel," reaching Ceylon after 14 days. He remained in Ceylon for 2 years and obtained copies of some sacred works in Sanskrit, copies of Disciplines, Āgamas, and selections from the Canon. Then he took passage on board a large merchant vessel on which there were over 200 souls, and astern of which there was a smaller vessel in tow, "in case of accident at sea and destruction of the big vessel." Such an accident did happen. After two days, they encountered a heavy gale which blew on for 13 days and nights and the vessel sprang a leak which was stopped up when they arrived alongside of an island. The passengers had to throw their bulky goods into the sea and Fa-hien fervently prayed that his books and images he was conveying to China might be spared and the labour of his life not lost.

They "went on for more than 90 days until they reached a country named *Java* where heresies and Brāhmaṇism were flourishing, while the Faith of the Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition."

Fa-hien remained in Java "for 5 months or so" and again shipped on board another large merchant vessel which also carried over 200 persons. They took with them provisions for 50 days.

They again encountered a heavy gale. The Brāhmaṇa passengers complained : "Having this Shaman on

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board has been our undoing. We should leave him on an island. It is not right to endanger all our lives for one man." The bold attitude taken by another passenger in support of Fa-hien silenced them. In the meanwhile the Captain of the vessel lost his reckoning. "So they went on for 70 days until the provisions and water were nearly exhausted, and they had to use sea-water for cooking, dividing the fresh water so that each man got about 2 pints." Then, changing direction, they reached land after 12 days' sailing. The Prefect of the place, who was a Buddhist, on hearing that "a Shaman had arrived who had brought Sacred Books and Images with him in a ship, immediately proceeded with his retinue to the seashore to receive them."

Thus was completed Fa-hien's journey on which he thus commented: "Looking back upon what I went through, my heart throbs involuntarily, and sweat pours down. That in the dangers I encountered I did not spare my body was because I kept my object steadily in view."

It may be recalled that Fa-hien practically walked all the way from Central China, across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindu Kush, and through India down to the mouths of the Hooghly, where he took ship and returned to China by sea, after so many hair-breadth escapes, passing through nearly 30 different countries, spending 6 years on mere travelling, and another 6 years in stay and study in India.

The main object of his mission, which was to get copies of sacred works and images, was hard to fulfil under the system of education in India where study and teaching were carried on by the oral method and not on the basis of written literature which could be copied and carried as MSS. The subjects of study were not re-

duced to writing and instruction had to be received directly from the lips of the teacher uttering the words that had to be "heard, pondered over, and contemplated" as *Śruti*. All lesson and literature had to be heard. Thus, Fa-hien states that "in the various countries of Northern India, the Sacred Works were handed down orally from one Patriarch to another, there being no written volume which he could copy." It was only at one place that he found an exception, at the Mahāyāna Monastery at Pāṭaliputra where he found a copy of the Disciplines, "a further transcript of same running to 7000 stanzas as used by Sarvāstivāda School, which also have been handed down orally from Patriarch to Patriarch without being committed to writing, extracts from the Abhidharma in about 6,000 stanzas, and a complete copy of a Sūtra in 2,500 stanzas, as well as a roll of the *Vaipulya-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 5,000 stanzas. Therefore, Fa-hien stopped here for 3 years, learning to write and speak Sanskrit (and Pāli?) and copying out the Disciplines."

It will be apparent from Fa-hien's account of the civilisation of Northern India, in the time of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, who was then its paramount sovereign, that the moral and material progress achieved by the country in that age was ultimately due to the efficiency of Gupta administration. It bears out the truth of V. A. Smith's remark that "India was never governed better in the oriental manner than under Chandragupta II". As we have already seen, Fa-hien was more concerned with Buddhist India and the chief centres of its religion and learning, which even in those days spread beyond the bounds of India and were helping to build up a Greater India paying its homage to the supremacy of Indian thought

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and following its culture in practice. Even the frontier province of Udyāna (modern Swat) counted as many as 500 monasteries peopled by Buddhist monks. The Punjab too was full of monasteries counting 10,000 resident Buddhist students. Mathurā city alone, which was a stronghold of Brāhmaṇism, contained as many as 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks. In the country now corresponding to modern U. P., the strength of Brāhmaṇism was represented by as many as 96 different Schools and Sects.

All this learning was represented and fostered by some of its greatest teachers. Some of these are mentioned by name by Fa-hien, as we have seen. Thus Pāṭaliputra was famous for its great Brahman Professor of Mahāyāna, named Rādha Sāmi, "looked up to by all the kingdom and served even by the King." Another great teacher was the Brahman Buddhist teacher, named Mañjuśrī, "whom the Shamans of great virtue in the kingdom and the Mahāyāna Bhikshus honour and look up to."

We have already seen how the educational institutions in those days were maintained both by private philanthropy as well as royal munificence. These grants were made in kind and not in cash, grants of agricultural lands, gardens, orchards and houses to these monasteries. The grant of land was also accompanied by the provision of necessary labour both of men and bullocks. With regard to the gifts made by private individuals, it is stated that their neighbouring families supplied "the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require, so that there is no lack of them." It is also stated that at the proper season these families vie with one another in "sending round to the monks the liquid food which may be taken out of the ordinary

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hours." Fa-hien also refers to "the annual tribute (from the harvests) paid to the monks and the gifts of clothes, and such other articles as the monks require for use."

It is to be specially noted, as already pointed out above, that the medium of instruction in higher learning was Sanskrit, which Fa-hien had accordingly to learn by staying for three years at the monastery at Pāṭaliputra. It is also interesting to note that memorial Stūpas were erected at monasteries in those days in honour of Teachers as well as Texts. Thus Stūpas were erected in memory of Sāriputra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, and Ananda, while similar monuments were also erected to give publicity to select Sacred Texts like *Abhidharma*, the *Vinaya*, and the *Sūtras*. Every monastery, whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, was thus equipped with a sort of a chapel where their inmates offered the appropriate worship special for them.

Lastly, we have already seen how public philanthropy in Gupta India equipped the country with an abundance and variety of institutions for the promotion of public welfare. Among these Fa-hien mentions as having seen with his own eyes free hospitals, houses of charity, or Dharma-śālās, providing shelter, bed, food and drink for travellers, which were open to all, without distinction of caste or creed. At the same time, the State did not encourage the other institutions which militated against manners and morals, such as piggery, poultry-farm, butcher's shops, and distilleries. Even such heating spices as onion or garlic were ruled out from the national diet. In conclusion, we may say that the Gupta Empire was opening up avenues of intercourse with foreign countries, both towards the West and the East, by means of Indian shipping and navigation.

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Fa-hien's record shows how brisk was the trade from the port of Tāmralipti with countries like Ceylon, Java, Siam, and China, while in the West India's sea-borne trade brought to the country in its wake abundance of Roman coins, especially in the South so that the Roman name for a coin, *viz.*, *denarius*, became incorporated into the vocabulary of Gupta numismatics.